

Quebec
in the Seventeenth Century





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*De ces deux
profils ce cy
est le meilleur.*



London

J. Hallett Hyatt, Sc.

*Study for a portrait of Cardinal Richelieu,
by Phillippe de Champaigne
in the National Gallery.*

OLD FRANCE IN THE NEW WORLD

QUEBEC
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

BY
JAMES DOUGLAS, LL.D.

Cleveland and London
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PREFACE.

A large library always reminds me painfully of a graveyard, and the rows of neglected books on its shelves of grave-stones. They merely, in most instances, perpetuate the names of men and women who have passed as completely out of the world's ken as the multitudes, whose existence on our planet is recorded on the mouldering stone by a name and two dates. Here and there is a book which is occasionally opened, just as here and there in our graveyards is a monument which marks the last resting place of some one famous for a deed which made his life conspicuous among the thousands who lived and died without leaving a sensible impression on their generation. And even these nonentities were in most instances less presumptuous than the unread author; for they would have hesitated to appraise the importance of their own past lives at even the value of a tombstone. It was the dead man's friends who, after he had gone, thus endeavored to perpetuate the fleeting memory of a vanished shadow. But the man who publishes his own book is vain enough to erect his own gravestone, and inscribe on it his own epitaph, and therefore he must not complain if it lies as neglected on the library shelf as the crumbling stones erected over the graves of insignificant people in our cemeteries.

Nevertheless, men and women will continue to write books, believing that they are adding something to the world's stock of truth. Should the world think otherwise, they can at least derive some solace from the thought (if they have paid their bills) that they have given remunerative occupation to the printer and bookbinder.

Should the above be the fate of my book, it is unkind to bury the names of friends with my own. Yet I cannot refrain from thanking the Abbé Scott, not only for permitting me to

copy maps from his interesting history of the Parish of St. Foy, but even lending me the block of the Portrait of Commander Sillery; Colonel Neilson for supplying more than one of my illustrations from his valuable collection of Jesuit memorabilia, secured by his great-grandfather when the Jesuit Estates were sold in 1800; Mr. George Iles and Mr. W. D. Le Sueur for reading my proof sheets; and the Burrows Company for being willing to strike off copies of some of the interesting illustrations made for their edition of the Jesuit Relations. In my book there are doubtless avoidable and unavoidable mistakes, and many of my friends will charge me with errors of judgment and opinion. I cannot claim to have had access to unpublished documents, but I have tried to derive my facts and my inspirations from original published sources.

The history of Canada was, during the period we have reviewed, indissolubly associated with that of Quebec, and it continued so to be during the remaining half century of the French Régime. Such books as Sir Gilbert Parker's "In Old Quebec," and the more critical description of the city, "Quebec Under Two Flags," by Messrs. Doughty and Dionne, blend of necessity the history of the country with that of the old town well into the period when the possession of Canada passed beyond the control of France. These books and others in the English language tell the story concisely and in a small compass, but none of them are written with the grace and literary skill which distinguish the many memoirs and histories written by French and French Canadian writers.

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CHAPTER I.

Europe in America, or Old France and Old England in New France and New England.

The undignified scramble in which the great powers of the world are now engaged for the possession of Africa and such islands of the sea as are still occupied by their aboriginal inhabitants, resembles in many of its aspects the race to occupy the New World, in which the maritime nations of the sixteenth century competed. To-day we call conquest "occupation," and the conquered area, with its subjugated people, "a sphere of influence." Yet the motives are the same—national aggrandizement and private gain—disguise them as we may under the cloak of a disinterested desire to share the blessings of our advanced civilization with our less fortunate fellow men. Our civil methods are less cruel, and the evangelization of the savage is not now generally regarded as a function of the state; but the actual wishes of the original occupants of the coveted territories, whether they be the blacks of Africa or the tawny children of Hawaii, are as superciliously disregarded by us as were the rights of the Indians of America by the faithful children of Spain, or certain of the Anglo-Saxon colonists of the North Atlantic coast and their descendants.

Columbus' first memorable voyage was promoted by Spain under the spur of rivalry with Portugal. This insignificant power, since the days of Prince Henry, had gradually crept round the African continent, and opened up trade by sea with India and with the mysterious empires of Cathay and Zepango. Marco Polo's strange adventures in these remote regions had remained so long—just two centuries—unconfirmed that his story had come to be regarded as a myth, and the land of the Great Khan a mirage. But Portugal's maritime achievements and subsequent mercantile success had not only converted a geographical illusion into a reality, but had inspired into mediaeval

commerce a new spirit, as irresistibly progressive as that with which the discovery of printing had reanimated the intellectual life of Europe.

Just at this juncture Spain had been fused into a political unit and had sprung into a power of the first magnitude. The marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella had united in national wedlock the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile, and had thus so combined and concentrated the resources of Spain that she was able to drive the Moors from her borders. This feat accomplished, and a strong patriotic spirit created, national pride could not brook the ignominy of beholding Little Portugal, a tiny strip on the Atlantic seaboard of the Iberian Peninsula, extending her domain beyond the sea. Spain was thus not only prepared but impelled to enter on a career of maritime discovery and foreign commerce. Portugal had sailed to the Orient by an Eastern course. The world is round and therefore the same Orient would be reached by sailing across the sea towards the West. Columbus is supposed to have taken counsel with the Florentine geographer Toscanelli, who had calculated the distance from the Iberian shore westward to the Island of Zepango (Japan) and to Cathay, the domain of the Grand Khan. No suspicion of intervening land seems to have disturbed his confidence or affected his calculations. How curiously wrong these calculations proved to be, and how stubbornly confident he was to the last in maintaining his mistake, are not the least interesting and pathetic incidents of this glorious era of geographical exploration, inaugurated by Portugal and consummated by Spain.

Columbus made land on the Western Hemisphere on the 12th of October, 1492, and returned to Spain with specimens of the productions of his supposed Asiatic discovery. We know that he landed on one of the Windward Islands, and coasted along the shores of Cuba and San Domingo, and that a continent and thousands of miles of ocean lay between him and the object of his search. But the same confidence in his own judgment as has characterized the illustrious men, who have achieved great deeds and exerted profound influence in the world, prevented his correcting his own miscalculations and reading aright the plain facts of

his own and others' observation. Nevertheless, the very persistency of the fallacy stimulated the adventurers who, in vessels no larger than schooners and with mere handfuls of men, penetrated fearlessly into the recesses of a New World, believing that it was the outskirts of that wonderful Asia, and that through it a waterway would be discovered leading directly to the goal.* When it came to be acknowledged that America was not China, and that nature had not cut a canal through its equatorial region, the search for a western passage was shifted northward. Even after Jacques Cartier had told the story of his winter sufferings at the head of a gradually contracting gulf, which receives the waters of the St. Lawrence, the hope was still cherished that this wide inland sea and the mighty river were a channel leading to the tropical climes and treasures of Asia. The name *La Chine*, borne by a village a few miles west of Montreal, commemorates the fallacy. After Cartier's time the discovery of the Northwest Passage continued to be the object of search by many an Arctic explorer, from Frobisher to McClintock. All of these sturdy navigators endured hardships from sheer enthusiasm for geographical discovery; for it was soon recognized that such a route, if discovered, would be commercially valueless.

Cartier's thorough exploration of the St. Lawrence from its gulf to the head of navigation at the Lachine Rapids, and his minute description of the severe climate and scanty products of that remote region, not only quenched the last hope of a navigable ocean highway in the temperate zone direct to Asia, but determined the limit beyond which private adventurers were not likely to be tempted to risk life and property in search of wealth. His second voyage, in 1535-1536, may therefore be considered as closing the first great cycle of American discovery.

Proud as we may be of our nineteenth century exploits, they sink into nothingness before the exuberant activity and magnificent results which rewarded the labors of the explorers of America during these brief forty-two years, which are without a

* The popular idea that he mistook the Island of Cuba for the main land is disproved by his letters to Saint Angel, and it seems probable that he knew, and acknowledged before he died, that he had discovered a new continent, though he did not appreciate its true geographical position.

parallel in the history of the world. In our own day, with steam, electricity, and a host of mechanical appliances and means at our command, with a much larger group of commercial nations jostling one another in the race for new markets, and a dozen religious sects competing for the conversion of the millions of heathen inhabiting the Dark Continent, Africa has not been invaded with the speed and thoroughness with which America was ransacked by those little companies of Spanish cavaliers and other explorers, under the impulse of greed, glory and fanaticism.

Judged by its results, the discovery of America was the most momentous event that the Christian era had witnessed. That it poured wealth into Europe and stimulated commerce, was of trifling importance, compared with the liberating influence which the adjusting of political and social life to the new conditions of a New World was to have on human policy and opinions. Yet it hardly produced a ripple on the contemporaneous thought and speculation of Europe. While the maritime nations whose shores were washed by the Atlantic were exploring America, the adventures of their seamen must have been the prominent topics of talk and speculation in their seaports. We know that the disturbance of the balance of power which the growth of Spain occasioned engaged the anxious thoughts of European statesmen; but the scanty and ill-preserved records of these daring voyagers are proof sufficient of the lethargy of the scholars and thinkers of Europe, a few geographers alone excepted, on this all-important subject.

It was the period of religious reawakening, a reaction from the decay of faith, which had been the first fleeting consequence of the revival of learning. Men's minds were diverted from physical and philological research to religious and metaphysical discussions. One looks in vain, for instance, through the letters of the freest, broadest, most appreciative thinker of that or almost any other age, Erasmus, for any reflections on the tremendous, world-transforming events transpiring across the seas; and one gives up the search with a keener and sadder sense than ever of the shallowness of human thought, and the narrowness of human vision.

The revival of learning had, in Southern Europe, exalted literature and art to the position religion had previously held, and shaken men's faith in the Christian creed and the code of morals based on it. The Vatican was as devoted to the worship of art as the Court of the Medici in Florence, and with the same results; for however completely a true theory and love of the beautiful may harmonize with Christianity, unless æstheticism be kept rigidly subordinate to some higher motive, moral degeneration seems to be its speedy and inevitable consequence. The most ardent champions of the Papacy do not deny the need that existed of moral reform during the Pontificates immediately preceding and succeeding that of Leo X. The standard of art was never higher, nor its pursuit more lavishly encouraged. On the other hand the standard of morality was perhaps never lower, or the practice of vice more easily condoned. It was Italian luxury and laxity which shocked Martin Luther, the unæsthetic Erfurt monk, so seriously as to undermine his faith. It was Italian corruption, political, social and religious, which excited Savonarola to sacrifice his life in the cause of reform; and it was the hollowness, hypocrisy, and undisguised license of the Church, under Italian inspiration and example, which Erasmus, himself a curious example of the contradictory tendencies of the age, essayed to stem by satire and sarcasm. Yet, despite the wide departure of ecclesiastical practice from the simplicity of primitive Christianity, the influence of the Church was never greater on the political and social life of Europe than at this critical juncture.

When Columbus sailed away from Palos in 1492, Alexander VI. of the house of Borgia had just been elevated to the Pontificate (Aug. 2nd, 1492). He embodied the very genius of selfish family aggrandizement. In November, 1503, when Julius II., the warrior Pope, succeeded Alexander, Columbus was nearing the end of his fourth voyage and of his adventurous career, eating away his heart on the island of Jamaica, the victim of princely ingratitude and his own extravagant pretensions. Julius, during his pontificate, succeeded by masterly statescraft in arraying the powers of Europe against each other, with the distinct purpose of advancing the power of the Papacy. But

as the whole of Europe was involved in the political and military complications woven by the astute and fearless politician and soldier who sat on the chair of St. Peter, men's minds were so absorbed by the clash of arms and the noisier din of theological controversy in the opposing general councils of Pisa and the Lateran, that such a trifling matter as the discovery of a new route to the domains of the Great Mogul may well have failed to arrest the attention of thinkers, politicians and reformers.

But a distinct and very different type of ruler over the Pontifical State and over the consciences of men followed Julius II. Leo X. was the patron of art and letters and a true scion of the House of Medici. Julius' statesmanship had both extended the domains of the Church and replenished its treasury. To Leo family aggrandizement and political power were subordinate to the encouragement of poetry, sculpture and painting, and the refinements of life. To gratify his tastes and beautify the Eternal City he quickly emptied the well-filled chests of Julius II. He then invented and had recourse to ecclesiastical methods of raising revenue, which proved so repugnant to the sterner sense of northern Christianity as to excite the Lutheran revolt and array all Europe in a war of words and weapons. The turmoil was as abhorrent to the Pontiff's love of ease and tolerant temper as it was destructive of healthy thought and calm investigation into the wonderful facts being brought to light in the field of geographical science.

During the quarter of a century, therefore, which intervened between the discovery of America in 1492 and Luther's challenge of the Pope in 1517 the thought of Europe was directed to far other themes than the doings of a few Spanish and Portuguese adventurers in strange lands and among barbarous people. The most notable allusions to the doings of these daring navigators was by Sir Thomas More, who makes the fictitious narrator of the "Happy State of Utopia," Raphael Hythloday, a companion of Amerigo Vespucci "in the three last voyages of these four that be now in print and already in every man's hands." But instead of finding food for philosophical thought in what Vespucci really saw and narrated, he uses his story as a mere peg on which to hang a philosophical romance.

Sir Thomas More's fancies make us wonder how different might have been the issues, had the history of the New World been less intimately interwoven with that of the Old.* As it happened, despite the fresh impulse given to the political progress of the whole world by America, European politics were, for weal or for woe, the compelling and controlling forces of American history for more than three centuries. Had independent adventurers such as the semi-mythical Norsemen, and the still more nebulous Welshmen, colonized part of our Western Hemisphere, and tempted others at their own risk to embark in a like enterprise, the New World might not have fallen victim to the quarrels and jealousies of the Old. A crop of indigenous feuds, perhaps no less pernicious, might have sprung up; but the immigrant communities would have developed into even more distinct types than the American people of to-day, assuming them to have escaped foreign dictation and the influence of inherited hatreds and prejudices. It was only the sturdy sailors of the Northlands, or the venturesome merchants of the Genoese and Venetian republics, who could possibly have founded by individual or co-operative efforts such independent communities. The latter possessed the skill and daring necessary to do it; for not only did the Italian republics contribute to this great epoch of maritime discovery such men as Columbus, Vespucci, and others of its most skillful mariners, but it was a Florentine geographer, Toscanelli, whose theoretical calculations were used by Columbus as arguments in support of his scheme of Western exploration, and by whose hypothetical charts he sailed. But to escape European influence, and to develop an original civilization, America should have been discovered long before the fifteenth or sixteenth century; for, when that era arrived, European interests had become so intermingled that no power could gain an advantage without exciting the jealousy of friends and foes. At that time, also, scattered independent American communities could not have defended themselves or maintained their autonomy.

The three first intruders, as colonists of the Western soli-

* Lamarck expressed the unfortunate fact in the aphorism: *Le globe est la propriété de l'homme; le nouveau continent, l'Amérique, est la propriété de l'Europe.*

tudes, were the direct agents of three European powers—Spain, Portugal, and France. The English colonists who followed were not sent forth by their Government, but they recognized fealty to it in a certain sense. As a consequence, the condition of European politics determined in every case the fate of America.

While the Spanish initiative in the discovery of America was the consequence of her sudden elevation to the rank of one of the Great Powers of Europe, the maintenance and extension of that position, especially when the Spanish King became also Emperor of Germany, involved her in such costly wars that she was compelled to use her American conquests primarily as a source of treasure, partly won from the soil, and partly extorted from the unfortunate natives by cruel and oppressive measures. As the Spanish immigrants were not agriculturists, and therefore not, properly speaking, colonists, official tyranny, bureaucratic pride and political dishonesty became almost of necessity the features of Spanish rule. The vices of Old Spain were transplanted to the soil of America. They at once took deep root and have borne bitter fruit even to our own day.

The supreme control claimed by and accorded to the Church was evinced in the Bull of Alexander VI. promulgated the year after the discovery, which allotted to Spain all lands west of a line drawn from North to South one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands. In the following year Spain and Portugal, by the treaty of Tordesillas, agreed that the line of demarcation between their future possessions should be three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, and some years subsequently the Pope confirmed the treaty. Portugal therefore elected of necessity as her field of discovery the ocean to the north and south of the West India Islands; but the southern lands alone were those which she ultimately occupied. Cabral, in 1500, sailed for India, but driven on to the coast of Brazil, planted the flag of Portugal within the limit of Portugal's area, and founded Brazil—the only colony Portugal ever maintained on the American continent. Cabral's discovery was followed by those of other navigators in these southern seas, notably by the explorations described by Amerigo Vespucci, whose letters,

if not his seamanship, won for him the honor of conferring his name on the New Continent. These tempting tropical lands, whose luxuriant vegetation fired the imagination with visions of wealth beneath the soil as prolific as the foliage which clothed it, stimulated Portugal to claim her heritage to the north as well as to the south of the equator, for the voyages of the Cabots had proved that, in that direction also, the land bulged eastward, so far as to throw it within the Portuguese sphere of occupation. She therefore sent forth two expeditions, one in 1500 and another in 1501, under the Cortereals. But fortunately these navigators confirmed the Cabots' account of the repellent aspect of the country, and repressed all further enthusiasm for exploration of a region where blustering winds made the sailor's life irksome, and a sterile coast, clad for many weary months in snow and ice, offered the explorer but scant inducement to land. North America was thus relieved from Portuguese domination. What extent of the shore line of our Northern Continent John and Sebastian Cabot, and Gaspar and Miguel Cortereal explored, it is beyond our province to discuss; but it is abundantly clear from the failure of either of such active maritime powers as Portugal and England, in whose interest the navigators sailed, to hold or extend their discoveries, that little or no value was attached to what they had found. It is presumable that neither entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence, as otherwise England or Portugal would have sought by that channel a route to Cathay, and not have left to France the honor of making, a third of a century later, the most famous of all the great voyages for the discovery of a Northwest Passage.

When the New World was revealed, France had only just thrown off the trammels of feudalism. Louis XI. had made himself really King of France, which was then territorially almost as we know it to-day. By cunning and by force, Burgundy, Franche Comté, Artois, Provence, Anjou, Roussillon had, in whole or in part, been brought under his rule. But France then and for several subsequent reigns had no navy, and but trifling foreign trade and commerce. The duty of the last monarchs of the Valois line was royally fulfilled by maintaining control of con-

tiguous territory, and creating a French nation. Unfortunately, their ambitions plunged them into a succession of Italian wars, which strained their resources almost to the breaking point. Nevertheless, one benefit these foreign wars did confer. It was from jealousy and laudable rivalry of his life-long foe in the Italian struggle, Charles V., that Francis I. was impelled to engage in maritime enterprises, and to seize his share of that New World, which was pouring gold and silver by the shipload into the Spanish treasury. "Ah, well," this pleasure-loving but shrewd monarch is credited with saying, "the Kings of Spain and Portugal are dividing coolly the New World between them without offering their poor brother a share. I should like to see the clause of Adam's will which bequeathed to them this vast heritage."

Charles V. used his ships as fighting machines in the Mediterranean, as well as for purposes of commerce in the Spanish Main and the Pacific; and Francis I. was too acute a soldier and politician not to appreciate the immense advantage which this possession of sea power gave the Emperor in his Italian campaign. The imperative necessity therefore lay on him of providing France with a navy, and of encouraging private maritime enterprises. His hatred of Charles V. induced him to resort to disgraceful shifts; but it was the commercial treaty and political alliance which he made with the Turks under Soliman II., in order to thwart the noble efforts of the brilliant and much harassed Emperor, who had just freed the Mediterranean from the scourge of Tunisian and Algerian pirates, that awakened France to the value and possibility of embarking successfully in foreign trade. To the same stimulus must be attributed the sending forth of the three expeditions to America under Verazzano, as well as those under Jacques Cartier and Roberval.

When France attempted to govern in the New World she imitated Spain more or less in form, but not in spirit. The climatic conditions of the territory she occupied, as well as the natural temperament of her colonists and the classes from which they were drawn, produced a distinct type of colony. The home Government designed to engraft the French bureaucratic system

on the colonial stock, and even transferred to the forests of Canada all that remained of the feudal customs and land tenure. Her colonial policy was to duplicate as nearly as possible Old France in New France, and to check spontaneous colonial development in strange and untried directions.

The English colonies, on the other hand, having been founded as private enterprises, some of them under the protection of Royal charters, were freer than those of Spain, Portugal, and France to work out, amidst their novel environments, an original system of government, and to form distinct social habits and customs; and therefore though moulded on ancestral models, they were not direct reflections of European originals. Even the English colonies, notwithstanding their greater independence of European control, were more or less affected by every complication of Old World politics. The successive wars between France, Holland, and England were waged on both sides of the Atlantic, and are referred to in colonial annals as King James' War, King William's War, and Queen Anne's War. Finally it was as a European war measure that France lent her aid to the revolting English colonies, and it was equally through English sympathy and her direct assistance, that the Spanish colonies were enabled to throw off the yoke of Spanish control.

Furthermore, American life was from the first inoculated with the ecclesiastical and theological views of Europe in all their absoluteness and their acrimony. The monastic orders carried into New Spain their narrow creed and the Inquisition, though the Dominicans, who used so mercilessly and relentlessly this terrible engine for the suppression of heresy on both sides of the Atlantic, were the staunchest protectors the poor Indians had against their oppressors. In New France the pretensions of the Church were as vehemently asserted as in Old; and the quarrel between Church and State was even more bitterly waged. In New England and in Virginia the contention between Puritan and Prelatist was as rife as in the old home from which the Roundheads and the Cavaliers had fled.

Thus on the warp of European politics was woven the web of American history. And it has so happened that almost as

soon as European control was thrown off, and the American communities might have shaped out for themselves even more distinct types of political and social life than they have done, there set in that great revolution in economics, through the agency of steam and electricity, which is so rapidly knitting the world into a commercial whole and creating for it a common civilization. This revolution is rubbing down, if not obliterating, idiosyncrasies of national character. Through other causes, therefore, than political control, America is still responding to the impulses of European life. On the other hand Europe is and has been vitally moved by America. But so intricate are the direct and reflex waves of influence, sweeping back and fro across the sea, that it will become more and more difficult to trace the origin of that unifying process, now in full progress. The study can, however, best be made where the range of observation is limited. And certainly there is no community on this continent whose history so vividly illustrates as that of the City of Quebec, the passage from feudalism to modernism; from government by autocracy to government by popular vote; from feudal bureaucracy to English colonial rule, and then colonial independence; from ecclesiastical domination to ecclesiastical subordination. There also can be studied the racial peculiarities of two of the great peoples of the modern world, passing from hostile antagonism into friendly rivalry, but evincing all the persistence of racial habits and institutions.

In the 17th Century, to which the following study will be confined, we shall see how trade monopolies strangled the spontaneous efforts of the colonists towards industrial and commercial enterprise, and drove the more adventurous spirits into illegal pursuits of gain; what a blighting effect the refusal to the people of all participation in government had upon civic and national growth; and how vain the attempt must ever be to reconcile ecclesiastical and civil authority, where representatives of each are combined in the administration of government. In the little town of Quebec all these experiments were tried, all these forces were in operation; and the results can there be seen and studied to better purpose than on a larger field and under more complicated conditions.

CHAPTER II.

The Unsuccessful Attempt to Found the Quebec Colony Under Cartier and Roberval.

CARTIER'S FIRST VOYAGE.

Though Cortereal's and Cabot's reports on the sterile north had not attracted colonists or treasure seekers, they did stimulate the fisher folk of Portugal, France and Spain to extend their quest for cod from Iceland to Labrador and Newfoundland across the Great Cod Banks, and even to penetrate the Gulf of the St. Lawrence. Exactly how far they ventured is a subject of dispute. Charlevoix tells us that as early as 1504 Basque, Norman and British sailors fished for cod on the Great Banks along the shores of Canada, and that in 1507 Jean Denys of Honfleur made a map of the Gulf. He then repeats the stories of exploration of the upper river by Denys, Velasco and Aubert. But these vague traditions are of little value. The actual limits of previous exploration can probably be gathered inferentially, yet with more reliability, from Cartier's narrative. Certain localities on the east coast of Newfoundland and Labrador are by him referred to by names already assigned. But when he sails away southward from Port Brest, on the Labrador coast, and makes the northwest coast of Newfoundland; and subsequently when he explores the Magdalen Islands, and the shore of New Brunswick, he himself assigns names to most of the prominent geographical features. The inference is that the fishermen knew the shores of Newfoundland, the Straits of Belle Isle, and the Labrador coast for a short distance to the west, but that neither curiosity, nor adventure, nor the search for treasure, had induced them to journey further than the abundance of cod and the pursuit of their calling tempted them. From his own hamlet of St. Malo, as well as from all the ports of Normandy, Brittany, Poitou, from the Basque Provinces of Spain, and from Portugal, hardy seamen had

year after year, for decades past, struck fearlessly out into the angry Atlantic; had tossed about while fishing on the banks, and, like their descendants of to-day, made the Newfoundland coast in search of bait and to cure their catch. All they knew he knew by hearsay, and perhaps, as rumor says, from personal experience during two fishing voyages; consequently he was familiar with all the known localities; with the precautions to be taken for securing the ships in winter, and in the breaking up of the ice in the spring; and knew what stores should be laid in for barter with the natives. On the other hand, the migratory Indians, who had for over a generation traded with the fishermen of the Gulf, had either carried or disseminated by rumor so full a description of the white men and their ways throughout the whole valley of the St. Lawrence that, when Cartier ascended it, he excited neither the fear nor the astonishment with which the Spaniards were received in their early exploratory expeditions. These aboriginal hunters may also have interchanged with the Indians of Stadacona and Hochelaga the seeds of those plants, indigenous to Europe, which Cartier subsequently found cultivated by those more advanced tribes.

There is therefore no substantial reason to rob Cartier of the honor of being the first explorer from across the Atlantic to trace the course of the St. Lawrence from the sea to the head of its navigable waters. On the other hand, he was not, like Columbus or Cabot, steering for unknown, though conjectured land. Thus the landfall made by Cartier on his first voyage, the Cap de Bonne Vue, was a headland as well known to navigators then as it is to-day; as were also the headlands and inlets of the southeast coast of Labrador within the Straits of Belle Isle. But all beyond was mystery and a void which the imagination could fill with demons or with gold, as people's fancy impelled them. Perhaps Cartier thought the expansion of water within the narrow Straits—the Golf des Châteaux of Cartier and the early fishermen—was part of the great sea of Verrazzano, the *Mare Indicum*, which a then recent map, that of the Vicomte Maggiolo, 1527, showed as occupying the space which the central part of our northern continent fills, separated from the Atlantic by but a fringe of seaboard. This sea Cartier may have imagined he had already entered, once

he had seen the Gulf expand beyond the range of sight within the Straits; for this sea of undefined limits Verrazzano had laid down on his map, as he supposed he had seen it beyond the low sandy hillocks of the Carolina coast. Cartier, therefore, instead of keeping along the Labrador coast, sailed southward, hoping to get away from the ice and cold, and to navigate open waters through a more genial climate to the Orient, but nevertheless through that great river of which the Indians had probably given the French fishermen some vague conception.

Of Cartier himself we know almost as little as of Columbus. In those days the genealogies of men of humble birth and calling, although they might have steered the whole world into unknown waters, were deemed unworthy of record. All that is certain is that the future sailor was born at Saint Malo, probably in 1494, and thus came into the world in the dawn of the day which was to usher in that new era of commercial progress with which his name was to be so honorably associated. By nature he was one of those restless spirits whom the past cannot content; who are not satisfied to plod along the beaten paths and solid ground which their fathers had trodden before them; but who look impatiently onward and outward over the vast ocean, which they imagine wraps within its encircling embrace every mystery which the horizon conceals. We may therefore accept the probable, if unverified, testimony, that before he was forty he had made three voyages across the North Atlantic, and experienced the keen excitements of the fisherman's life, and had, in the employ either of Portugal, or of Francis I., taken part in an expedition to Brazil. The inference is that he had learned, not only the rougher tasks and functions of the sailor's calling, but had been educated in its more recondite secrets, for the general accuracy of his observations, as set down on his three voyages, bespeaks the scientific navigator. Had he not indeed possessed a knowledge of the higher branches of the seaman's profession he would not have been selected to command the expedition which, on the 20th of April, 1534, in two ships of about 60 tons each manned by sixty-one men, sailed away from Saint Malo, after Messieurs Charles de Moüy, *sieur de la Milleraye*,

and Vice Admiral of France, had administered an oath to the captain, sailing masters and sailors, binding them to comport themselves as true and faithful men in the service of the most Christian King under his command.

That first voyage in its incidents does not concern us, except in so far as it afforded preparatory experience for the second. The commentators and critics have not agreed in their identification of all the geographical spots described by Cartier, but it is generally considered that, after exploring the Labrador coast for about one hundred and fifty miles to the west of the Island of Brest, he returned to that well-known port; then struck across the west coast of Newfoundland, and skirted its rocky inlets and bold headlands till abreast of the Magdalen Islands; threaded his way between these, and still proceeded westward, hoping perhaps to reach the more open waters of the *Mare Indicum*. Taking this course he sighted, instead, Prince Edward Island and the New Brunswick coast. This he cautiously followed to the north into the Bay des Chaleurs, to which he gave the name that still clings to it. Not finding a passage to the west from the head of this gulf or bay, he seems to have skirted the coast somewhat further; when, still failing to find the outlet he was in search of, he steered northerly, and passed to east or west of Anticosti before regaining the Labrador coast. Twice he speaks of looking for the passage. Was he really looking for an opening into Verrazzano's sea to the southwest? At any rate, after crossing, probably unwittingly, the mouth of the river, he reached the Labrador coast and followed it to the east; though in crossing the head of the Gulf he traversed the open water, which he was looking for, towards the west. Then he followed the Labrador coast to the east, retracing his own steps for part of the way until he reached Blanc Sablon at the south end of the Straits of Belle Isle. Thence he sailed to France without further adventure, and with favoring winds reached Saint Malo on September 5th. As did Columbus on his first voyage, so Cartier took to Europe, as proof of the value—and very doubtful proof it was—of his discoveries, two Indian boys, who, it was asserted, were willingly entrusted to him by their father, a chief of the last district explored on the south



The Coast of Newfoundland, as it appeared to Jacques Cartier in May, 1534.

shore, called Honguedo, probably Gaspé Basin. The youthful natives played a notable part in Cartier's second voyage, and it was probably from their information that he was then enabled to sail straight into the St. Lawrence. The writer of the second voyage admits that they had been forcibly taken and carried away against their will, and the will of their parents.

CARTIER'S SECOND VOYAGE.

On Cartier's second voyage stormy weather scattered the fleet, which was not reunited until all three ships reached the rendezvous at Cape Blanc Sablon. The coast to the west of this was more or less familiar as far as Cape Thiennot, which was recognized as having been the scene of a friendly interview with the savages on the first voyage. Coasting some twenty miles further they anchored in Saint Nicholas Harbor, which Father Charlevoix says is the only spot which retained its name to his day, and then entered the maze of the Mingan Islands. At this point he learns from the two Indian lads, whom he had captured the year before, that Gaspé Basin lay to the south, and that the intervening land was an island—the same island they had partly explored on the first voyage and named Assumption. The youths also told them of the great river ahead, and of the Bourgade of Stadacona, and evinced an accurate knowledge of the geography of the upper St. Lawrence. Cartier discovered subsequently that his captives were of the same tribe as the Indians of Stadacona, and that one of Taignaogny's brothers was actually there.

They coasted along the low sandy shores of Anticosti to its northwest extremity, saw the low lands of the southern shore of the St. Lawrence, and remarked the bolder character of the northern; returned to it, and followed it to a group of islands (Seven Islands), evidently hoping to find a passage to the north, even after they had distinctly understood that a large river flowed from the west. The idea of a great sea, on which floated as islands all the land which they had hitherto explored to the north and south, seems to have possessed Cartier's mind. It was expressed, as we have seen, on the map of 1527; was confirmed doubtless by the rumors of the great inland lakes, which had beguiled the

Spanish adventurers far to the South, and now tinctured all Cartier's theories. Columbus before he died may have doubted whether America was part of the Asiatic continent, and Cartier's mistaken suppositions were partially corrected after he had reached Hochelaga, and had seen the Lachine Rapids, and learned the precise distance of the great lakes, as we read in the letter of his nephew, Jacques Noël, in 1587. Before he died he would probably have revised the account of his own voyages as given by his historiographer, and eliminated the mention of Canada as an island which so bewildered Father Charlevoix. According to Lescarbot, Francis I., in his commission to Jacques Cartier, prior to the third voyage, speaks of Cartier as having discovered the large countries of Canada and Hochelaga, making a part of Asia in the west. They were, therefore, probably supposed to be islands floating in the great sea of Verrazzano (Berrendana). The delusion of a northwest passage, as we know, died very hard.

We need not follow Cartier step by step up the river. As he approached his destination, the distinguishing landmarks are more correctly described and more easily identified: the Saguenay, the Isle aux Coudres (Hazel Nut Island), which Cartier calls "the beginning of Canada," the Isle de Bacchus or Orleans, and at last "a very fine and pleasant bay," which could be none other than that glorious expanse of water, with its beautiful setting of island, fertile shore, frowning cliffs and towering mountains—the Harbor of Quebec. He saw the promontory of Quebec first from one of Chief Donnecana's canoes, and on the fourteenth moored his ship between the sheltering banks of the little river Lièvre or the brook Saint Michel, a mile or so above the mouth of the St. Charles, into which his ships had been carried by the ascending tide. His fleet had sailed out of the harbor of St. Malo on the 9th of May, met at the rendezvous of Le Sablon, within the Straits of Belle Isle, on the 6th of July, and now on the 8th of September, escorted by a fleet of canoes, the first European came within sight of Stadacona. Cartier's first care upon approaching what he evidently regarded as the end of his voyage was to find safe winter quarters for his three small vessels. This he did on the 14th of September in the River St. Charles, which he named

in honor of the saint day—the St. Croix. His three ships were small craft, and were manned by crews of seventy-five men, the very signatures of seventy-four of whom have been preserved. We can calculate the size of the three ships, the “Hermine,” the “Petite Hermine,” and the “Emerillon,” by accepting the displacement of Columbus’ ship, the “Santa Maria,” as 212 tons and its length as being 84 feet by 26 feet beam. The “Grand Hermine,” of 106 tons, must have been 67 feet long by 23 feet beam; the “Petite Hermine,” of 60 tons, must have been 57 feet by 17 feet beam, and the “Emerillon,” of 40 tons, must have been 48 feet by 15 feet beam.*

The old mistake of supposing that Cartier anchored his ships and stowed them for winter quarters at the junction of the St. Croix and the St. Lawrence, some miles above Quebec, is hardly worth contradicting. It is certain that, within a mile or so of the mouth of the St. Charles, a name substituted for that of St. Croix by the Recollet Fathers in honor of Charles des Boïes, father of the mission of that order in Canada, Cartier made preparations to pass the winter with his ships. At about half a mile from the mouth of the river its banks approach, and at this point there was in early days a ford, and later a bridge of boats. The present Dorchester Bridge, connecting Bridge street in the suburb of St. Roch with the Beauport Road, crosses the embouchure of the river at about 500 feet below the old ford, which was at the foot of Crown Street, near the Marine General Hospital. Above the ford the river describes a letter S, forming two long loops. At the turn of the first loop two brooks, the St. Michel and the Lairet, have cut their channels through the alluvial mud into the St. Charles. The tide rises to a depth of ten feet over the muddy bed of the St. Michel, and here, therefore, between its protecting banks, where, during low tide, the ships would rest safely on the soft, level, muddy bottom, and where neither the flood nor the ice floes would endanger their safety, was just such a refuge as

* The linear dimensions—viz., length and beam—are in proportion of the cube root of the tonnage for similar models. The builders’ old measure—B. O. M.—for determining tonnage, is to multiply the length, minus three-fourths of the breadth, by the breadth, the product by one-half the breadth, and then to divide by 94; the quotient is the tonnage.

Cartier sought. That this was the scene of his first winter's suffering and disappointment is by some supposed to be confirmed by the finding, in 1843, by Mr. Joseph Hamel, the City Surveyor, of the timbers of a vessel of about the size of the "Petite Hermine," just protruding from the mud at about 200 feet from the mouth of the creek. A division was made of what was recovered of her hull and tackle between the museum of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec and that of St. Malo. The portion assigned to St. Malo is still to be seen there, but that deposited with the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec was destroyed, with nearly the whole of the Society's collection, in the fire of the Parliament Building in 1854. As we shall see, the "Petite Hermine" had to be abandoned in the spring for lack of sailors to man her, twenty-five of Cartier's little company having succumbed to scurvy and privation during the weary and distressful winter months.

After first caring for his ships, like the good sailor that he was, Cartier must have looked with uneasy foreboding on the scene surrounding him. He was encircled by swamp covered with a dense growth of dogwood, spruce and cedar, except where here and there a patch of swampy meadow refused to nourish even brushwood. The swamp extended southward to the base of the rocky ridge, which he could see terminated in the high bluff upon which Donnecana's stockade was built. The low lodges were of course hidden among the big trees covering the ridge. The same swampy ground stretched back some distance from the banks of both the St. Charles and the St. Lawrence in distressing monotony, but with the advantage of enabling him to see the approach of the Indians from almost every direction. To the north the land was covered with a dense forest of pine and hardwood, as it rose with a gentle slope to the base of the Laurentide Range. It was mid-September, and then, as now, the maples were clad in their gorgeous autumnal tints, in comparison with which the tropical forest, with all its vaunted wealth of foliage and flowers, is colorless. But this very splendor, due to a touch of the early frost, must have warned him to return, while there was yet time, and join the fishing fleet on

its homeward voyage to Old France. The temptation may have been strong, but the enthusiasm of the explorer and the resolution of the commander not to retreat until he had fulfilled his commission, for the execution of which he had laid in fifteen months' provisions, overcame the prudence of the navigator. The advancement of the season, therefore, merely stimulated his impatience to explore the river above Stadacona.

When Cartier first entered the river, in the middle of August, his captive Indians told him that they were ascending to the great river of Hochelaga, and on the way to Canada, and that the river would gradually diminish in width as Canada was approached, that its waters would become fresh, but that its source was so distant that no one to their knowledge had ever reached it. Hochelaga, consequently, became the possible goal of his expedition, and as soon as his two large ships were safely moored, he began making preparations for this further exploration, for which he solicited the assistance of Donnecana and his tribesmen. Then commenced the first contest in northern latitudes between the will of the European and the wit and the finesse of the red-man. It was the first, but not the last, and the victory was then, as ever afterward, on the side of the man with the superior tools, whether ships, weapons of war, or railroads.

The two captive lads now appear as prominent characters in the drama. On the approach of the ships to the east end of the island of Orleans they had left the ships with their compatriots after appeasing the fears of the Indians. Their superior knowledge, despite their youth, must have given them a prominent place in the council chamber of the tribe. They had spent eight and a half months in France, and though ignorant of the French language and puzzled by much they saw, they had learned to appreciate the power of their captors, and to doubt the unselfishness of their motives in thus intruding on their ancestral domain. They had noticed how very different the methods of trade pursued in France were from the simple system of barter with which they had previously been familiar, and they had, perhaps dimly, perceived the value attached to money, and the trials and hardships endured in earning it. They had seen the Malouin fishing smacks

returning with the Terreneuvais, some weeks after their own arrival in France, for it is the wind of St. François (Oct. 4th) that wafts them back to their homes. And two months or so before they themselves had sailed, they had seen these same fisher folk bid good-bye to the sad, white-capped matrons and little ones, and sail away on their perilous venture under the protection of the Holy Virgin, the "Star of the Sea," before whose image on the great gate of St. Malo they offered their orisons. These fishermen presumably combined with their maritime vocation that of the trader, and brought back peltries and seal skins bought from the Labrador and Newfoundland Indians, and at times a native or two. Taignoagny and Domagaya watched all this with Indian stolidity, seemingly indifferent to everything around them; but they must have shrewdly decided either that trade with the French was a boon to be coveted, and therefore to be secured, exclusively, if possible, by themselves and their friends; or else that there was danger to be apprehended from these white men, their ships, their cannon and their seeming numbers. When, therefore, their advice was asked in the Council Lodge of Stadacona, it must have been given in favor of discouraging all further exploration and aggressiveness by these strangers, whether regarded as welcome guests or feared as future foes. Whatever the motive, the decision reached was that Cartier must be prevented from ascending the river to Hochelaga. The effusive friendliness of the first greeting was therefore succeeded by reserve. They would not approach the ships until Cartier had convinced them of his friendly intentions. They then objected to the display of weapons, whose dangerous character they had been informed of, but had not yet experienced. They professed to be appeased only when Cartier, appealing to his quondam captives, explained that gentlemen in France always carried their arms. Before separating the Captain and Chief Donnecana renewed their protestations of friendship, and all of Donnecana's people gave three shouts in a loud voice terrible to hear. Thus ended, with fair words and false intentions, that first treaty between the whites and the North American Indians.

The next day, the 16th of September, Cartier and his crew were busy making the two larger ships safe within the harbor and river, the smallest being left in the stream for the Hochelaga trip, when Donnecana and his two captives, with ten or twelve chiefs, came on board, while a multitude of 500 savages and men, women and children surrounded the ship. The chiefs were feasted and the usual presents given, after which the subject uppermost in the minds of all—the journey to Hochelaga—was broached. Taignoagny explained that Donnecana had forbidden him to accompany Cartier, as the river was dangerous; but Cartier repeated his determination to go alone, even if Taignoagny should not accompany him, his instructions being to ascend the river, unless prevented by some insuperable obstacle, and that therefore as far as Hochelaga he would go. The Indians returned discomfited to their lodges.

On the 17th new tactics were resorted to by the savages. A girl and two boys, one of them said to be the brother of Taignoagny, were given Cartier as a bribe to induce him not to proceed. In return Cartier gave the Indians two swords and other trifles, but expressed anew his determination to see Hochelaga. Failing by bribery, the sorely puzzled savages essayed fear. Two Indians disguised with horns were sent as emissaries of the great god Cudragny to warn Cartier of the perils of ice and snow which would beset him on his western journey; but Cartier retorted that his priest had consulted Jesus, and that they were promised fine weather, with which assurance the Indians were obliged to be satisfied. So the farce finished by Taignoagny telling Cartier that he must proceed alone, as they were forbidden by Donnecana to accompany him.

The priest, whose intercourse with the Deity was used as a counterpoise to the methods of the Indian god Cudragny, was probably as fictitious as the revelations which the red men alleged to have been received from the latter. Nowhere else is his presence referred to. In the following winter, during the terrible visitation of scurvy, the narrative tells us that "our Captain, in view of the sickness and suffering, commanded all to pray, and had an image of the Virgin exposed on a tree at an arrow flight

from the fort, and he ordered mass to be said the following Sunday, when all who could go, both sound and sick, went in procession, singing the Penitential Psalms and the Litany, and praying the Virgin to intercede with the child Jesus for us. Having said mass, our Captain vowed to make a pilgrimage to Notre Dame de la Roquemada if God would permit him to return to France." If priests had been in the company, mass would not have been an extraordinary ceremony, and Cartier would not have himself officiated. If mass was celebrated the consecration of the elements must, of course, have been omitted. On another occasion Cartier is said to have explained to the Indians through Taignoagny, when they wished to be baptized, that he would return, and would then bring priests and the holy oil with which the sacrament could be efficaciously administered. This they believed, as several young people had witnessed the ceremony in Brittany. Who were these several youths? If the passage is correctly reported, it would confirm the previous impression that the intercourse of the French with the Indians of the Gulf and of the Gulf Indians with those of the river had been intimate. The Abbé Faillon, in his "*Colonie Française en Canada*," argues that Dom Guillaume le Breton, the Captain of the ship "*Emerillon*," and Dom Anthoine were priests, as the title "*Dom*" is given to priests of the Order of Saint Benoit. But a priest would not likely be in command of a ship, and, had they been ecclesiastics, their names would have been among the nobles at the head of the list of Cartier's crew, instead of at the foot. When Cartier made his first and second voyages, despite the pious formulas used, religious propagandism had not acquired the importance it attained when the Lutheran revolt had become more widespread, and Catholicism, under the stimulus of Loyola, had awakened to the necessity of reform.

All being ready, Cartier set sail without his Indian guides to explore the river above Stadacona. The principal geographical features of the St. Lawrence between Quebec and Montreal are so much more distinctly marked, and the scenery is so much more contracted, that the identification of localities is easier than when we are dealing with Cartier's itinerary of the Gulf. The accuracy

of his description of the upper river confirms the honesty of the narrative of the whole voyage and attests his powers of judicious observation. Both banks of the river above Stadacona seemed to be peopled by Indians who supplied him with fish and muskrats, and evinced no hostility. On the 28th, nine days after starting, they entered Lake St. Peter, and being unable to find a deep channel out of it, Cartier left the "Emerillon" in charge of ten of her crew, and proceeded in the boat with twenty-six sailors, and with the gentlemen adventurers, and with Jalobert, the Captain of the "Petite Hermine," and the same Guillaume le Breton whom Faillon, on the ground of his being styled *Dom*, supposes to have been a priest. On October 2nd they reached Hochelaga, where one thousand savages were gathered on the banks to greet them "with all the fervor of a parent welcoming a child." They belonged to the Bourgade of Hochelaga, the situation of which Cartier describes with much detail. Cartier gave to the mountain above the river, at whose base the stockaded village of Hochelaga then lay, and over which the commercial metropolis of Canada is now rapidly spreading, the name it still bears. And for once the matter-of-fact narrator breaks almost into enthusiasm, as he describes the glorious view which opened upon them as they ascended the mountain. But it must have been a disappointment to see the broad navigable river contract at the foaming rapids of Lachine, and hard to abandon all hope, however faint it may have been growing, that perchance it afforded a navigable waterway to China.

On October 2nd Cartier, his noble companions, and his twenty-six men took leave of their savage friends. The Indians were sorry to see vanish these wonderful beings, with their metal weapons and ornaments, their fire-creating arquebuses, their curious musical instruments, and the magical control over disease, which, as medicine men, they seemed to possess and which they practised so generously. As their power to hurt or to help must have seemed irresistible, the desire to retain them as allies must have been no less strong than their dread of them as foes. The descent by the swift current above tidewater was easy. On the 4th they rejoined the "Emerillon" on Lake St. Peter, and found

that their companions had not been molested. They then returned to Stadacona, stopping only to explore the St. Maurice, which they thought might lead them into that mysterious Saguenay country, whence they understood came the copper ornaments and weapons the Indians set such store by. This strange confusion between the Saguenay region and the Upper Lake Region runs throughout the whole narrative. On the 11th of October they rejoined their fellows on the little affluent of the St. Croix, and found that during their absence they had built a stockaded fort and mounted on it the artillery from their ships. Champlain in the next century found the remains of the chimney near the little Laitet creek, and spoke of it as marking the site of this the first European habitation on these shores.

Chief Donnecana, accompanied as usual by Taignoagny and Domagaya, made haste to pay a visit of ceremony and to invite Cartier to his poor abode. The invitation was accepted, and the visit paid on the following day, when Cartier, the chief pilot of his fleet, and fifty sailors marched half a league to the *Demeurance* of Stadacona, which was probably on the promontory overlooking the two rivers. The savages received him with the customary dances, and exhibited, as proofs of their valor, five dried scalps. They admitted at the same time that one of their war parties had been almost totally exterminated two years previously on the St. Lawrence by the Toudamans—a tribe no commentator has been able to identify, though Lescarbot says that it occupied the country opposite the Batiscan, and in that case between the Bourgades of Stadacona and Hochelaga. If so, it was probably occupied by an offshoot of the Iroquois stock, among whose branches hostilities and jealousy were already brewing. What Donnecana had in view was probably to initiate a negotiation for an offensive alliance against their enemies. As Cartier did not respond, the coolness apparent in the subsequent conduct of the Indians may have dated from this ceremonial visit.

Cartier devotes several chapters to the religious beliefs and some of the manners and customs of the Indians of Stadacona, but his observations were probably as imperfect as his deductions were certainly incorrect. Unfortunately, he gives no such vivid

description of their stockades and lodges as that which enabled us to identify the Hochelaga Indians as a branch of the Huron stock. He dilates on their avidity for Christian conversion, and their desire for baptism, which, owing to their polygamous and otherwise immoral habits, he was forced to refuse them. All of which, considering the abstruseness of the subject, and his ignorance of the language, compels us to believe that he must have drawn largely on his imagination, unless his two captives had, during their few months' enforced residence in France, become adept interpreters. It is not fair to assign the religious aspirations and efforts of the early explorers entirely to hypocritical motives, or to suppose their interest in the cause of religion assumed merely to stimulate the zeal of French supporters, and, in Cartier's case, forward plans for another expedition. For it must not be forgotten that, despite the laxity of morals in Europe, there still remained some of the power of mediæval Christianity, and that license in conduct and spasms of emotional piety were then, as in other times and places, strangely and incongruously associated. The life and character of Francis I., Cartier's patron, afford a glaring exemplification of this inconsistency. Cartier interlarded his narratives with a due allowance of traveller's tales about pigmies and one-legged men and other monstrosities. Even so uncritical a commentator as Father Charlevoix expresses the opinion that these marvels are due to defective observation, or a too excited imagination, or to the misunderstanding and exaggeration of the reports of others. They do not detract, however, from the intrinsic credibility of the narrative in regard to matters of direct observation.

Through the machinations of his quondam captives, so Cartier believed, the alienation of the Indians of Stadacona, or, as he expresses it, of Canada, assumed so grave and menacing an aspect that, fearing hostilities, he protected his fort by a deep ditch, a drawbridge, and a stronger palisade. He tried to frighten the savages by blowing trumpets, and he made the utmost parade of his forces by changing watches. But no attack was made, and gradually the friendly relations were restored. There was jealousy among the natives themselves, as we may judge from the

fact that the warning he received of the suspected treachery of Donnecana was given by the chief of the neighboring village of Hogauchenda. Where that village was he does not tell us, but he says that in the district of Canada—that is, west of Isle aux Coudres—there were several communities living in villages not stockaded. His description carries us back to those eras and scenes in prehistoric America when the aborigines were struggling to rise out of abject savagery and work out an original system of civilization, only to be checked in its development in North America among the Iroquois, and summarily strangled in Mexico and Peru, by coming into contact with foreign and uncongenial races.

“To the west of the Island of Orleans,” Cartier tells us, “there is a basin which forms a natural harbor, into which the river flows in a swift, deep current between high bluffs, and the soil on the shore is rich and cultivated. Here is built the town of Stadacona and the lodges of Chief Donnecana, and of the two lads we captured on our first voyage. But before reaching Stadacona four villages are passed, those of the Ajoaste, the Sternatas, the Tailla, who have built on a hillside, and the Satadin.” As that of the Tailla is distinguished as being built on a hill, we may presume that it alone stood on the south shore, the others on the Beauport Flats. “Then Stadacona is reached, beneath whose high bluffs towards the north is the river and harbor of St. Croix, where our ships lay high and dry from the 18th of September to the 16th of May, 1536. This place passed, the villages of Feguenonda and Hochalai are reached, the former on high land, the latter on a plain.” All we know is that Hochalai was above Cap Rouge. On his third voyage in 1540 Cartier started on what he intended to be a preliminary survey of the St. Lawrence above the Lachine Rapids. After leaving their winter quarters at Cap Rouge, the narrative says, “they proceeded up the river, and the Captain paid a visit to the Lord of Hochalai, whose abode is between Canada and Hochelaga.” The resemblance of the name Hochelaga and Hochalai stamps their inhabitants as belonging to Iroquois stock, if not to the Huron tribe.

Whoever they were that inhabited the stretch of the Great



Where Cartier on his second voyage docked his ships.

River near Quebec, its topographical features made it as conspicuously important to the Indian economist and strategist as it has proved to be ever since. The flats of the north shore and of the valley of the St. Charles are the first large areas of low cultivable land on that side as you ascend the river from the Atlantic. They were, therefore, selected as the most suitable site for a group of villages, while the heights of Quebec and Levis, contracting the river which flows between, gave the position strategical value as a vantage ground from which to watch the movements of friends or foes. Here, therefore, on one of the few cleared and cultivated spots in the boundless wilderness which had been forever, and was still, slumbering under the oppressive silence of almost unbroken forest, there were associated in communities men and women in sufficient numbers and sufficiently advanced in art and intelligence to co-operate for peace and war, storing in summer provisions for the winter; tilling the soil with small wooden implements not bigger than a sword, and raising corn, pumpkins and tobacco, which latter Cartier and his crew essayed to smoke but did not relish. When, therefore, the first white men ascended the river they found at and around Quebec a population which occupied a higher plane in the scale of civilization than the wandering, hunting tribes around them. This spot, therefore, so conspicuous in later days, had an unwritten history of its own, but its annals are not recorded in even archæological remains.

The first chapter of the authentic story is a very sad one. Soon after the return of the exploring party winter set in. The ice grew thicker and thicker on the St. Charles, and snow fell deeper and deeper over the whole country. Fears must have seized the little company, almost the only European denizens on the whole continent, lest they should be buried in the beautiful, glittering masses which everywhere enveloped the world in their soft folds. It was so relentlessly cold that it must have seemed impossible that summer heat could ever again unlock the streams and melt the great drifts, which piled higher and higher over their ships and grew up into a wall whose combing summit towered above the stockade which they had erected as a defence against their suspicious neighbors. And as the December days shortened

new horrors faced them. Disease broke out in the Bourgade of Stadacona—perhaps an epidemic caught from the Europeans, which found a congenial nidus in the Indian constitution and carried off fifty victims. Cartier forbade all intercourse between his men and the stricken savages, but ere long a new and terrible disease developed in his own company. From his description there can be no reasonable doubt that scurvy had broken out in his crew, probably occasioned by the cessation of all traffic in fish and fresh meats with the natives. There is no proof that it was the same disease which had ravaged the Indian village itself. Scurvy was, no doubt, prevalent during seasons of scarcity in Stadacona. The Indians suffered from it, and they also knew its cure; but it usually did not break out so early in the winter as December, for the summer supplies, despite the characteristic improvidence of the natives, would hardly then be exhausted, and the St. Charles would still be swarming with tommy-cod. The disease among Cartier's men made such havoc that by the middle of February, out of the two hundred and ten composing the crews of the three ships, there were only ten sound sailors. Eight had died, and the lives of fifty more were despaired of. One and another continued to fall ill, until there were but three strong enough to assist their helpless mates. Before the death list was closed twenty-five had died and lay unburied, stiff and stark, concealed in the snow drifts. To add to their despair, they began to fear lest the savages, becoming aware of their weakness, should attack and overwhelm them. To avert this conjectured danger and hide their helplessness, Cartier drove them from the ship whenever they appeared, and thus, in his ignorance, deprived himself of the only available remedy—fresh food and vegetable diet. At length, one day, meeting Domagaya, who had been himself a sufferer, he ascertained that the medicine by which the savage had been cured was a decoction of the boughs of annedda—probably the balsam. Two squaws were sent to collect the remedy and to make the necessary infusion, under the beneficial influence of which health speedily returned. The balsam, therefore, became a standard remedy for scurvy. Colston, in describing the hardships of the whalers of 1612 in

Newfoundland, tells us that divers died of scurvy, whereto turnips were an excellent remedy—not less efficacious than “Cartier’s tree” (Prowse’s “History of Newfoundland,” p. 128).

Thus this first long winter spent by Europeans on the upper St. Lawrence wore away amidst distress and despair. But they were brave men, and bravely bore their terrible hardships. There is not a hint of insubordination. February, the shortest month of the year, is, in this semi-arctic region, the longest and dreariest; but in March the great change comes. Every Canadian can appreciate the revival of hope and courage as winter merged into spring, and snow and ice vanished, the glittering pall appearing to evaporate under the bright sunshine as spontaneously as a fleecy cloud dissolves in the blue summer sky. Their numbers had been so reduced that there were not men enough remaining to man the three ships, and the commander decided to abandon the “Petite Hermine.” But was he to return with no spoils or evidence of success? The products so far of the costly journey were geographical information and very problematical promises of prospective gain from the fur trade. The palpable results had been money spent, twenty-five men dead and one vessel abandoned. As a cargo he brought home neither gold nor silver nor precious stones. So he determined to carry with him the old Chief Donnecana, who could speak with authority of the fabulous resources in gold and rubies of the Saguenay, and of a white race which inhabited that mysterious country, and of the monstrous beings who lived without food. Donnecana could also relate what he had himself seen of the still more marvelous land of Pequemains, where dwelt a one-legged race. Possibly he hoped to compel the old chief, if once his captive, to show him the site of the Saguenay treasures, so as to render his voyage somewhat more fruitful than it had so far been. Be the motive what it may, he devised a scheme to entrap the chief and his two former captives. The people of Stadacona, suspecting treachery, had ceased to visit the vessel. On the other hand, Cartier’s apprehensions had been excited by the unusual gathering of Indians at Stadacona, though these, probably, were only parties of hunters returning from their winter chase. His fears of Donnecana were

fanned by the insinuations of his new allies, the inhabitants of Stadin—doubtless the same as the Satadin previously mentioned as the nearest village to Stadacona, in the chain of the unstockaded groups of lodges which lined the south shore. They, in return for their friendship, were allowed to dismantle the abandoned ship for the sake of its nails.

In furtherance of his design against Donnecana, he opened negotiations with the wily Taignoagny, through his body servant, Charles Guyot, who was a favorite of Donnecana's and had been his guest. The ostensible subject of the negotiations was the capture and disposal of an obnoxious rival, a chief called Agona. Cartier assured the Stadaconians that his intentions were to carry to France no adults, but only youths, who would be instructed in the French language. Nevertheless, he expressed himself as willing to transport their enemy to an island off Newfoundland, where he would cease troubling them. Their apprehensions being thus allayed, Donnecana and others consented to attend the ceremony of the elevation of a high cross on the 3rd of May, the Feast of the Holy Cross. On the cross was inscribed, not Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews, but "*Franciscus Rex Dei Gratia Francorum Rex Regnat.*"

After the ceremony the great men of the tribe accepted the invitation to a feast, during which Donnecana, two other chiefs, and Taignoagny and Domagaya, were seized. Until the ships sailed on the 6th of May the unfortunate captives, closely guarded, were allowed to have intercourse with their people, who were thus induced to supply them with food for the voyage. In return Cartier distributed to their wives and children a few trifles; cheered them by the promise of a return the following spring; and then, with the remnant of his crew, sailed away. Their own consciences may have been easy. They were certainly thankful to escape; but they left heavy hearts and streaming eyes on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and in the minds of the Indians a sense of wrong which may have been the source of the traditional hatred of the Iroquois against the French. Cartier but followed the example of Columbus and of others before him, as his example has so often been followed since by travelers and explorers, who have

not realized that, beneath the red or black skin, may beat as warm a heart as ever throbbed in the white man's bosom, and that, despite what may seem impassiveness, the family affections of the savages are their strongest emotions. In this instance, as often since on this continent, we have the pitiable sight of the civilized Christian playing the part of the savage—outwitting him in negotiation, and violating his rights by superior force, while raising over him the Cross of the Prince of Peace, and pretending to be actuated by motives of the purest philanthropy and religion.

The return voyage was uneventful. Cartier sailed to the south of Newfoundland by the channel whose existence he merely suspected the year before, and cast anchor in the harbor of St. Malo on the 16th of July.

CARTIER'S THIRD VOYAGE.

Cartier's report cannot have been encouraging, and it is not surprising that the Government did not enable him to fulfill the promise given to the bereaved Indians that their chiefs and relations would be restored to them within twelve moons. That he himself indulged in any glowing forecast of the regions he had discovered and named New France is improbable. He was honest enough to tell the truth. Had he not been, the truth could not have been suppressed; for what his comrades endured must have been told, embellished with exaggerated details, and for proof of their story they had but to point to the twenty-five sorrowing households in the little Breton town. In the Introductory Dedication of the narrative of the second voyage to Francis I., the motives for further exploration were set forth. Foremost stands the duty of spreading the True Faith. As it originated in the East, traveled westward from Asia into Europe with the sun, it was, he said, "the mission of the True Church to carry it still further westward to those far western wilds so as to embrace in her fold those western heathen to the confusion of the wicked Lutherans." But underlying that pious motive was the dread of Spain's territorial expansion in the Western Hemisphere and of her constant commer-

cial growth, both of which France was ripe to emulate. Possibly this potent reason would have added sufficient weight to induce Cartier's royal master to divert some funds from his belligerent and amorous enterprises towards the equipment of a third expedition, had not the clouds of war begun again to gather. There had been a long peace between Francis I. and his implacable enemy, Charles V. It had lasted from 1529 to 1536, as the result of the Treaty of Cambrai negotiated by Louise of Savoy, Francis' mother, and Margaret of Austria, Charles V's aunt, two clever women who had succeeded when professional diplomats had failed. But both had passed away, and their restraining influence over the revengeful passions of the King had died with them. And to the passion of revenge that of jealousy was soon added, for Charles' brilliant, disinterested and successful foray against the pirates of Algiers in 1535 had won him the plaudits and the thanks of Christendom, and increased his influence in the Mediterranean. These feelings had operated as an incentive to exploration when Cartier sailed out of St. Malo in 1635, but ere he returned in 1636 Francis I. had already invaded Italy, and Charles was massing his troops to enter Provence. Had Cartier planted his Cross as a sign of French sovereignty on a gold or a silver mine, instead of a snowdrift, the demands of war might have yielded to the claims of commerce. But as he could promise only the slight and uncertain gains of a trade in furs, it is not surprising that the onerous expenditure and the all-absorbing excitement of a foreign war obscured the importance of his discovery, with the result that four years elapsed before he again sailed forth on his third voyage. By that time another hollow peace had been ratified between the two European sovereigns, with all the usual insincere demonstrations and formalities of affection and good faith.

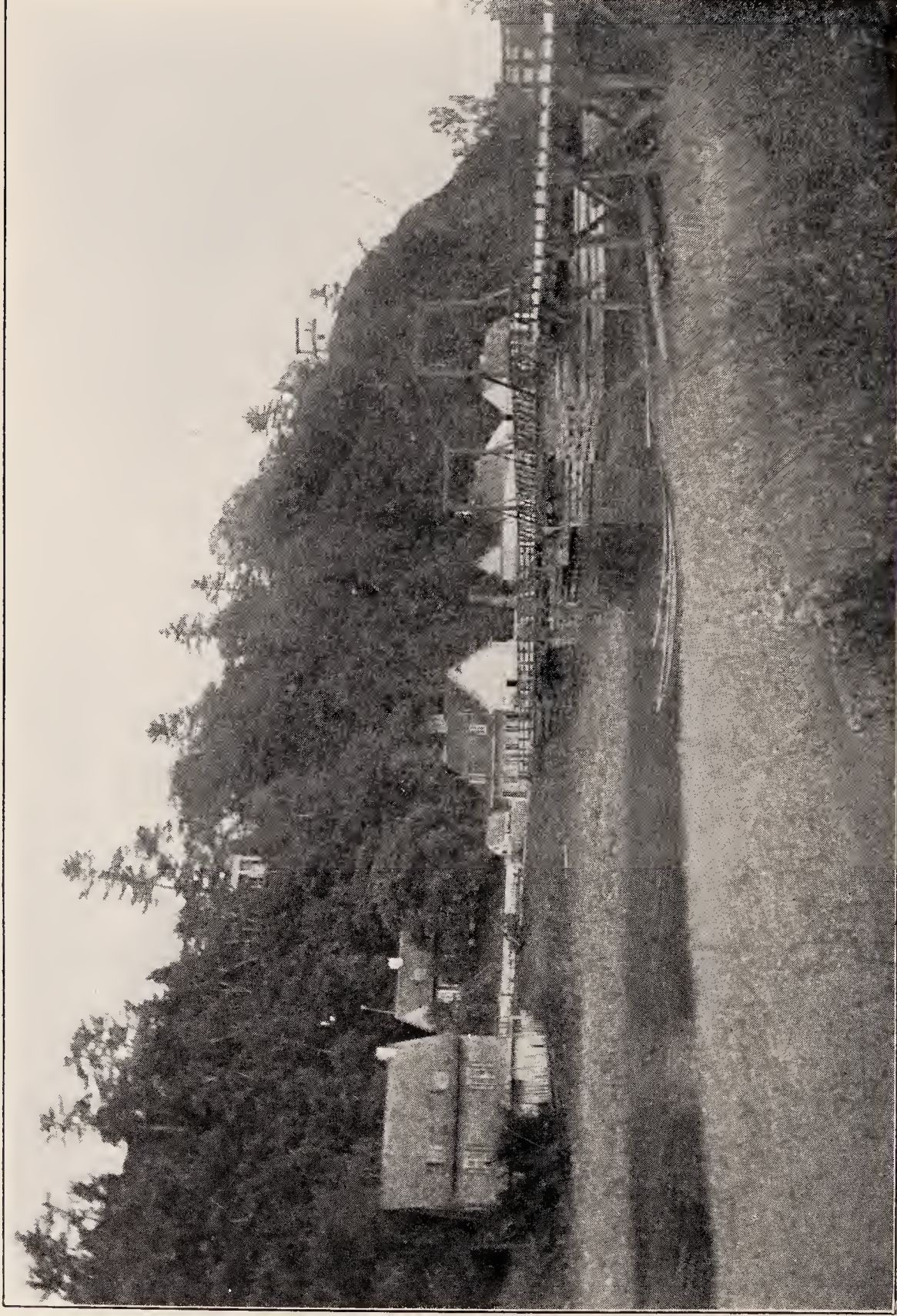
Meanwhile the unfortunate savages had been exhibited at Court; instructed in the mysteries of the Faith; baptized in the Cathedral of St. Malo on March 25, 1538; and had sickened and died. Only one—a girl—survived to see Cartier's ships set sail in 1641 for her old home. Cartier's previous voyages had proved, if not the full agricultural capabilities of the valley of the

St. Lawrence, at least the fertility of the land and the adaptation of the climate for the cultivation of certain valuable products. They had also admitted him to the portal of a vast region, which such Indian rumors as he had been able to interpret described as abounding in mineral wealth; and this was the prize for which alone adventurers were willing to risk a fortune. The prospect, therefore, seemed to warrant the establishment of a colony, and the third expedition was consequently planned on a broader basis than the first and second. The accounts of the third expedition are, however, fragmentary. In the French archives there are certain patents appointing Roberval to the position of Lieutenant-General of the Army in Canada, Cartier to the post of Captain-General and Master Pilot; but the narrative of Cartier's voyage and that of Roberval exist only as a translation by Hakluyt, and the narrative of the first is broken off in the middle. The course of events seems to have been as follows: In January, 1540, Francis I. appointed Jean François de la Roque Seigneur de Roberval, a Picardy gentleman—who probably earned the distinction by contributing money for the expedition—Lord of Norembègue, and his Viceroy and Lieutenant-General of the armies in Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, Newfoundland, Belle Isle, Cap Rouge, Labrador, the Great Bay and Baccalaos. The appointment was confirmed by letters patent under the hand and seal of the Dauphin in the following month. There is the usual preamble as to the religious motives for sending forth the expedition. By the same instrument the Viceroy is permitted to enlist in the holy cause, from the prisons of Toulouse, Bordeaux, Rouen and Dijon, fifty prisoners under sentence of death—hardly the most fitting instruments for the Holy Work. The only condemned prisoners considered unfit were those under sentence for lèse-majesté, heresy and counterfeiting. There was so little public enthusiasm for the enterprise that Roberval found it impossible to fulfil the royal injunction to hasten his departure and sail in the spring of 1540. It was probably difficult to secure an able commander, for it was not until the 19th of the following October that Francis I. conferred on Cartier an independent commission as Captain-General and Master Pilot, without any reference to Roberval, instructing his bailiffs at the same time

to supply him with the fifty criminals already promised to Roberval, or perhaps an additional contingent. In the same patent he is authorized to keep his old ship the "Emerillon" as *adourb* to the fleet. On the 20th of October this commission was confirmed by the Dauphin, and additional instructions given as to the conditions on which the prisoners were to be selected. Such importance was attached to this jail delivery that one suspects it was an experiment made with a view of feeding the prospective colony with this troublesome element of French society, should it be found that change of environment produced in the transported convict a change of heart. Motives of economy can hardly have been the only incentive to a policy so fraught with danger to the enterprise.

During the winter five ships were equipped, provisioned and manned for two years, but Roberval had been unable to collect the artillery and ammunition, without which he, as Lieutenant-General, could not fittingly assume command of the army. And therefore, as the King was impatient, Cartier set sail with the five ships from St. Malo on the 23rd of May, 1541, and Roberval went by land to Honfleur, whence he expected to proceed immediately with one or two ships and his armament. Stormy weather separated the fleet, and a month was spent at the rendezvous at Carpont, near the mouth of the Straits of Belle Isle, by the first arrivals, waiting for their comrades and for Roberval. They employed their time in filling their water-casks, which had been so completely drained on the long voyage, that to save the domestic animals, which they were taking to stock the Canada farms, they had been obliged to share with them their cider and other strong beverages. It was the 23rd of August before they cast anchor in the harbor of Stadacona.

Agona, Donnecana's old rival and after the capture his substitute, came off with some canoes full of men, women and children to welcome their king and their kinsfolk. But they were greeted with the news that Donnecana was dead, and that the other nine were so happy that they had refused to return. Cartier evidently did not expect that even the ignorant savages would be credulous enough to believe that their chief would forego his honors at home for the comforts of France. They feigned to believe the tale



Site of Cartier's Winter Quarters at Cap Rouge on his Third Voyage.

that the other nine (eight of whom were really dead, and the ninth prudently detained at St. Malo) had refused to leave the palaces of France for their native lodges. Chief Agona displayed satisfaction, so Cartier surmised, at the death of his rival, and crowned the French commander with a chaplet of wampum. The latter nevertheless judged it wise to give his doubtful friends a wider berth than on his previous voyage; so, instead of again laying up his ships for winter in the St. Charles, he selected a harbor some nine miles above Quebec, where the stream had cut through the cliff, which extends as an unbroken wall from the Stadacona promontory to that point. It had probably been decided on as the site of the prospective colony, as Cap Rouge is specifically mentioned as one of the regions over which Roberval is to reign. Above the stream and its narrow stretch of enclosing meadow, then thickly covered with hardwood forest, the steep banks again confined the St. Lawrence, but the Cap Rouge stream which flows with so gentle a fall over the low divide, separating the Valley of the St. Lawrence from that of the St. Charles, leads to the belief that the depression was once a watery channel, and the ridge between Cap Rouge and Quebec an island. At the mouth of the stream Cartier safely moored three of his ships, leaving in the river the two which he proposed sending back to France. The site was one of the best he could have selected, for fertile land, fit for cultivation by his future colonists, extended along the river bank over the low divide into the beautiful carse of the St. Charles. He had probably discovered on his previous voyage that intimate intercourse between the Indians and his former well-disciplined crews was not conducive to either good morals or good health; and as the men he now commanded consisted of far inferior material, and as, moreover, he had every reason to expect that his treachery would provoke reprisals, there were strong prudential reasons for establishing himself at a safe distance from the families of Donnecana and the other captives. As an additional inducement to select this side, Cap Rouge was near the Bourgade of Hochalai, whose chief had on the previous voyage shown himself not only friendly to Cartier, but hostile to Donnecana, and would therefore probably barter food for trinkets

during the coming winter. Having landed his artillery, he built a rude fort, and unloaded the ships which were to return to France. No time was wasted, and on the 2nd of September the two ships, under command of Macé Jalobert, his brother-in-law, and Etienne Noël, his nephew, set sail for France with news of what had been done, and of the non-arrival of the Viceroy. Cartier then set twenty men to work clearing an acre and a half of ground, and sowing it with turnips, while others cleared paths up the overhanging cliffs to the east, and built a fort on its summit to protect the colonists from attack by the Stadacona Indians. While cutting through the slates they found there the very regular and pure quartz crystals which still go by the name of "Cape Diamonds," but which they imagined to be the real gem, also some iron pyrites, or, more probably, scales of mica, which they mistook for gold. But Cartier had more important work to do than even gathering gold, alluring as that pursuit was. Before the winter set in he wished to make a preliminary exploration of the country above Hochelaga in order to see for himself the character of the rapids which had to be passed in reaching what he supposed would be the headwaters of the Saguenay. Thus equipped with information he could, during the approaching winter, prepare for a summer exploration of the western country. So he started with two boats, leaving the fort under the command of the Viscount de Beaupré.* Both boats ascended to the foot of the first rapids, where one boat was left, but the current was so swift that they were unable to propel the single boat with which Cartier tried to proceed. He therefore landed and started to ascend the banks of the river, but soon desisted. As no mention is made of Hochelaga, in which he took so intense an interest on the previous journey, it is questionable whether the rapids he was attempting to scale were really those at Lachine, or whether he was ascending the Ottawa, or possibly even the St. Maurice. On his way up the river his former friend, the Lord of Hochalai, received him cordially, and the Indians where he made his last halt gave him both

* The account of this boat journey is so much less precise than that given during the second voyage of the expedition over the same ground that it seems improbable that the same hand wrote the two narratives.

provisions and information. But on his return he found the Chief of Hochalai absent. He learned afterwards that he had descended to Stadacona to concert measures with Agona against the strangers. His original uneasiness was converted into apprehension on reaching Cap Rouge by the sullen behavior of the Indians, who ceased to bring provisions to the fort, and by the accounts given by some of the company who had gone to Stadacona of the gathering of the savages there, evidently with hostile intention. Here the narrative suddenly closes, and the next glimpse we get of Cartier is in the account of Roberval's outward voyage in the spring of 1542.

On the 2d of June, 1542, Roberval's fleet of three ships, carrying as colonists two hundred men, women and children, entered the port of St. Johns, Newfoundland, where he found seventeen fishing vessels. The writer of the fragment dealing with Roberval's attempt to colonize Canada thus tells of the meeting of the Viceroy with his Pilot-General: "During our long detention in the Port of St. Johns, Jacques Cartier and his company entered the harbor on his return from Canada, whither he had been sent as the pioneer, with a fleet of five ships. When reporting to the General he told him that he was carrying back with him some diamonds and a quantity of gold ore which he had found in Canada. On the following Sunday we tested some of the ore and found it good.* He reported to our General that the scanty force he had could not successfully oppose the Indians, who prowled about their encampment and harassed them without cessation. On that account he was returning to France. Nevertheless he and all his company had only praise to bestow on the country they had abandoned, by reason of its fertility. But when our General, whose forces were ample, ordered him to return with him, Cartier and his comrades, inflated with pride, and anxious to reap the glory of their discoveries, escaped secretly the following night, sailing away to Brittany unceremoniously, and without leave-taking." It would be an ignominious ending of a brilliant naval career if the incident was accurately recorded. This reference,

* If mica, it would have passed unaltered through such heat as they could apply.

however, tells the tale of the winter's experience at Cap Rouge. The colonists probably did not suffer from the scurvy. Late as it was when the turnips were planted, the acre and a half must have yielded some crop. Moreover, Cartier had learned the efficacy of balsam leaves, and if he came to the determination early in the winter to abandon the attempted colonization, he doubtless converted the stock of farm cattle into food. Meanwhile, instead of disease, he had to combat the ceaseless activity of the Indians, who, as was their wont, would pick off wanderers from the camp, and by their numbers must have made the commander anxious even as to the safety of his fort and of his ships; for the Indians of the Upper St. Lawrence had united with those of Stadacona in harassing the settlers, as we infer from the warning given by the historian of Cartier's third voyage. After describing the cries and expressions of joy to which the Indians who had gathered at the foot of the rapids gave utterance on perceiving Cartier's presence, he adds: "None the less, one must beware of all their charming demonstrations of pleasure, for they would fain have killed us, as we learned subsequently." It is no wonder, therefore, if, discouraged by Roberval's absence, alarmed by the gathering numbers and the open hostility of the natives, depressed by the gloom of the long winter, and anxious to reap as speedily as possible the glory and profits of his mineral discoveries, he remanned his ships on the opening of navigation and started for France; and as little wonder that, once under way, with the vision of their happy St. Malo families and homes before them, and the Indian war whoops still ringing in their ears, Cartier's crew, if not Cartier himself, refused to return under a commander who, by his previous hesitation, inactivity and improvidence, made failure under his leadership a foregone conclusion.

While Cartier's five ships were thus on their way to France, Roberval and his two hundred colonists in their three ships were ascending the St. Lawrence under the pilotage of Jean Alphonse Xaintonguais. Toward the end of July the Governor-General landed his motley crew and their scanty stock of provisions at the mouth of the Cap Rouge rivulet, at the spot previously occupied by

Cartier. His preparations were commenced on a much more substantial scale than those of the cautious sea captain. On the site of Cartier's fort, on the heights overlooking the valley of Cap Rouge and the St. Lawrence, he built a fortification, which his enthusiastic chronicler says "was beautiful to look upon, and of surprising strength, within which were two corps de logis dwelling rooms and an annex of forty-five by fifty feet in length, which contained divers chambers, a dining-room, a kitchen, offices, and two tiers of cellars. Near them he built a bakery and a mill, and dug a well."

In the valley below he erected a two-story house in which to store the provisions he imprudently had not brought. And, having done all this, he renamed the country "France Prime," not being satisfied with the more euphonious name "La Nouvelle France," which Cartier had already given. On the 14th of September, finding probably that his provisions were already running short, he sent back to France two of the three ships, under command of Monsieur St. Terre and Mons. Guinecourt, with instructions to return laden with provisions the following spring, and to learn the value of certain mineral specimens, either sent in their care or previously carried to France by Cartier. Evidently Roberval's faith had become shaken, after further exploration, in the genuineness of Cartier's diamonds and gold found in the red shales of Cap Rouge. How many men were detailed for the two ships is not told, nor whether they were drafted from the better class of his company or from the criminal element. If, as was probable, they were drawn from the former, those who remained must have been as hopeless a lot of colonists as ever landed in Botany Bay. The ships had hardly left before the colony was put on short rations. For a time the Indians exchanged fish for trinkets, but when the winter set in fresh meats and vegetables failed, scurvy again attacked and carried off fifty of the miserable, half-starved crew, who must have thought with regret of even the prison fare of France. For they were not men of the same stamp as Cartier's crew on his second voyage, nor did they bear their sufferings as heroically. Crime and punishment varied the monotony of their winter's experience. One man, Michel Gaillon, was hanged for

theft, he having the ignoble notoriety of being the first criminal executed in New France. Several were chained and imprisoned; others, females as well as males, were whipped; and "by these means," the chronicler quaintly tells us, "they were enabled to live in peace and quietness."

The ice began to melt in April, but when spring returned, the General could muster only one hundred men, seventy of whom he took with him in eight boats to explore the province of Saguenay, leaving thirty to protect the fort and the ships, under the command of the Seigneur de Royeye. These thirty were to remain at their post until the first of July, when, if the expedition did not return, they were to be at liberty to sail to France in the two ships, or more probably one of the two, which he left them. As he was said to have arrived with three ships, and as he dispatched two to France on the September previous, and left two at Cap Rouge, he must have built one vessel at least during his nine months' residence at Cap Rouge, and thus inaugurated an industry which was in after days to become the principal support of Quebec during the winter months. Whither Roberval went is very doubtful. He makes no mention of Hochelaga, and therefore he probably did not ascend the St. Lawrence to the Ottawa. He probably attempted to explore the St. Maurice and thus reach the country of the Saguenay, which seems to have had such a fascination for these early explorers, and the position of which was so little understood. Wherever he may have gone, this exploratory expedition was evidently disastrous. It contained too many gentlemen to permit good discipline, for we are told that on the 14th of June four of these worthies returned, with others of less note, and brought the sad news of the loss of a boat and eight of the crew. And they were followed on June 19th by five others, who were the bearers this time of twenty-six pounds of wheat, and instructions from the General to wait his return until the 22nd of July before sailing. And here the narrative, evidently written by one of the thirty left at the fort, and translated by Hakluyt, suddenly breaks off, and the curtain falls on the first act of the romantic drama of French colonization in the New World.

The interval proved to be long ere it again rose on the same

scenery, but on new actors. What befell Roberval's colony, the Viceroy himself, and his Pilot-General, cannot with certainty be determined. Lescarbot, and the historians of the following century, narrate so many incidents which we now know to be fiction that little credence can be given to their statements. Champlain tells us that Roberval compelled Cartier to return to the Island of Orleans, where they built a house and resided, until, his Majesty removing him for important service, this enterprise, deprived of its vigilant superior, gradually came to naught. Lescarbot seems to quote Cartier when he asserts that Cartier was sent to assist Roberval in withdrawing what remained of his colony, a service which occupied eight months. Cartier had previously resided, he says, seventeen months in Canada, which is the sum of Cartier's two winter campaigns in the country. If Cartier was really sent to rescue Roberval, the voyage must have occurred in the summer of 1543, for, by letters patent on April 3rd, 1544, Robert Le Goupil was appointed Judge to settle a pecuniary claim made by Cartier for expenditure over receipts, and Cartier and Roberval were summoned to appear as witnesses. It is likely, therefore, that Roberval was unable to reach Cap Rouge before the eve of St. Magdalen, the 2nd of July, and that his impatient colonists, taking advantage of his permission, sailed for France with two ships in port, that he found his boats unseaworthy, or his forces too weak to man them, and that he was obliged to face another winter of cold and starvation, under the constant risk of annihilation by the Indians. As he did not follow his advance guard in 1542, Cartier may have been sent to his rescue in the spring of 1543. It is strange that so memorable an event as the first attempt at colonization by France should have been recorded in so incomplete a manner, and that the records themselves should have been first preserved in a fragmentary condition only, in a translation in Hakluyt's collection of voyages. Further research in the French archives may unearth the complete narrative, but whatever additional information may be discovered, it would not alter the conclusion that the plans were ill-laid, the material enlisted ill-suited, the enterprise ill-conducted, and the result a lamentable failure. Roberval and his aristocratic com-

panions evidently aspired to rival their Spanish cousins, but they lacked both their opportunity and their indomitable vigor and energy. Cartier alone stands forth, eminent in seamanship, discretion and power of organization. Though Lescarbot, writing eighty years after Cartier, and with a strong prejudice against the St. Malo Captain, charges him with faint-heartedness for failure in his colonial schemes, for which he asserts he was fully provided and equipped on his second expedition, there is no evidence, either in Cartier's own narrative or other contemporaneous documents, that he was entrusted with civil authority as Governor of a colony, or that on him or his colonists were conferred any trading privileges, or that the expedition was other than an exploration undertaken at the expense of the State.

CHAPTER III.

What Happened on the St. Lawrence Between 1544 and 1608.

The sixty-five years which intervened between Cartier's and Roberval's futile attempts to colonize the valley of the St. Lawrence, and the actual foundation of Quebec by Champlain, constitute the dark age of Canadian history. The French government was during this period haunted by a desire to reoccupy the abandoned territory, but did nothing. Not so, however, French sailors. They carried on a desultory trade with the Indians, as we learn from a letter written by Jacques Noël, Cartier's nephew, in 1553 to Moses Growte, correcting some inaccuracies on a certain map of North America, by reference to his own observations and to a map of his uncle's, which he says has been lent to his two sons, Michael and John, then in Canada. The writer promises that if, on their return, he learned from them anything new worth recording, he would communicate it. There is no reason to suppose that any of these traders extended their operations beyond Hochelaga, the limit of Cartier's explorations. They more probably confined them to the mouth of the Saguenay, for Tadousac was a great center of Indian barter when Champlain founded his colony in 1608. It was then, no doubt, as Lake St. John now is, a *rendezvous* of the Algonquin tribes, who hunted for skins over the Labrador promontory and wandered northwesterly to the land of their distant kinsfolk the Crees.

But during this blank in the annals of the St. Lawrence a revolution was being enacted there, which these transitory visitors from Europe did not deem worthy of recording, but which was to have momentous effects upon the fate of both the white and the red men east of the Mississippi for nearly two centuries. From the facts bearing on the Indian inhabitants of the St. Lawrence valley, scattered through the narrative of Cartier's voyages,

we may deduce the following conclusions: That there were either sedentary or wandering branches of the Stadacona Indians on the south shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and that they differed in language and habits from those of the north shore of the Gulf:—that the Stadacona Indians were sedentary and cultivated land:—that, as Cartier thought it necessary to specify that certain of the surrounding villages were unenclosed, we may infer that Stadacona was stockaded:—that there was jealousy between the Stadacona Indians and their near neighbors, though from their common practice of living in villages, there is reason to suppose that they were racially allied and differed from the wandering tribes of the Algonquin stock:—that there was a chain of villages between Stadacona and Hochelaga inhabited by Indians of similar habits and customs, and, therefore, of like lineage:—that towards the close of this first attempt of colonization by France one, at least, of these communities allied itself with Stadacona to oppose the French intruders:—that at the junction of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa was the largest and most powerful of these families or tribes, living in a stockaded village and exercising a certain control, if not coercion, over the Indians of the lower St. Lawrence:—that, if there was not hostility, there was at least acute distrust of each other by the Indians of Stadacona and Hochelaga. The inference is that all these Indians were of one race but of different tribes, and that there were operating causes of disunion under which they were segregating themselves into hostile groups.

That they were all of the same race Cartier himself believed, for to the narrative of his first voyage he, or his historiographer, appends a list of words which he calls "*Le Langage de la terre nouvellement decouverte, appelée Nouvelle France,*" and he closes his second with another list of words and phrases from "*Le Langage des pays et royaume de Hochelaga et Canada, autrement appelée par nous la Nouvelle France.*" The majority of the words for the same object in the two lists closely agree. As he met on his first voyage only some travelling bands of the Indian tribe of Stadacona, and as the second list of words is stated to be from the language of Hochelaga as well as of Canada,

we have thus corroborative evidence that the language of both *bourgades* was substantially the same.

That the Indians of Hochelaga belonged to the great Iroquois family, the minute description of the stockaded village and of its internal organization leaves no room for doubt; and if all the Indians of both Hochelaga and Canada, that is, of the whole valley west of Isle Aux Coudres, spoke the same language, then the whole of the St. Lawrence between the Gulf and Ottawa was occupied by one or more tribes of this powerful race. Mr. J. C. Pillings in the preface to his bibliography of the Iroquoian Languages (Bulletin of the Smithsonian Institute, 1880) referring to the Cartier vocabularies, says: "To the Iroquoian perhaps belongs the honor of being the first of any American family of languages to be placed on record." Sir Daniel Wilson, in the proceedings and transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, compares Cartier's words for the numerals with corresponding words in the dialect of the Huron Indians of Lorette, near Quebec. The resemblance is occasionally so close as to support a presumption of Indian linguistic affinity despite the dissimilarity between some of Cartier's words and their representatives in the modern dialect; a dissimilarity so wide that the imagination of the most ingenious philological casuist would find it difficult to bridge it. Among the numerals are the following:

Hochelaga and Canada.	Lorette, Modern Huron.
1.—Secata	Skat.
3.—Asche	Achin.
5.—Ouiscon	Wisch.
10.—Assem	Asen.

In another table Sir Daniel Wilson gives, on the authority of Mr. Horatio Hale, the corresponding words from Cartier and the language of the Wyandots, a branch of the Hurons, now living in Anderdon township, Ontario. Here again we find close resemblance, and, as might be anticipated, wide divergence; for apart from the change which would inevitably take place in unwritten speech in the three intervening centuries, Cartier's philologists cannot have followed very definite rules in expressing the sounds of the Indian language by the European alphabet, nor

could he have had much opportunity of correcting the idiosyncrasies of individual pronunciation or the peculiarities of dialect of his few guides, by any widely extended comparison. Charlevoix's evidence, though given in 1744, is not of much value. He says the inhabitants of Hochelaga spoke the Huron language. Cartier's evidence is of more value when he states specifically that the vocabulary he gives is that of words and sentences spoken by the inhabitants of the two villages and tribes of Stadacona and Hochelaga. The incidental references to correspondence in manners and organization confirm the linguistic evidence of the racial unity of the two communities, and of their essential differences from the Indians of the Algonquin stock which then inhabited the north shore of the Gulf and of the lower St. Lawrence.

Lescarbot, after describing Champlain's trip to the Huron country and its stockaded towns, of which he had heard from the lips of Champlain himself, said: "I am confirmed in the opinion that Jacques Cartier correctly described the stockaded bourgade of Hochelaga, notwithstanding the denial of Champlain and others that any such town ever existed, simply because they found no remains of it, and no tradition of its existence." Lescarbot rightly attributed Champlain's not being able to find at Quebec the famous antidote for scurvy, known to Jacques Cartier as "*annedda*," to the fact that the Indians who knew of it by that name had been exterminated, or at any rate had disappeared. The disappearance of Hochelaga can be interpreted only on the supposition that its inhabitants were driven away by hostile tribes, and all vestige of the *bourgade* destroyed by the vindictive conquerors, in accordance with the general habit of conquering Indians throughout the North American continent.

Nicholas Perrot, an Indian trapper and interpreter, who wrote towards the close of the seventeenth century, says: "The country of the Iroquois was originally Montreal, and Three Rivers;" and he then proceeds to explain their migration by a tradition that the neighboring Algonquins, being hunters and more manly than their agricultural neighbors, asked a party of Iroquois to accompany them on a hunting expedition, when out of jealousy

caused by the better luck of the Iroquois, the Algonquins killed some of their Iroquois companions. A bitter feud arose, which led to the driving of the less warlike Iroquois, first to the north shore of Lake Erie, then to the south shore of Lake Ontario. In their various migrations and wars the Iroquois acquired the valor and skill which subsequently made them the dominant power. When Champlain visited Stadacona and Hochelaga in 1608, only 65 years after Roberval withdrew his company of unsuccessful colonists, the Iroquois name of Stadacona had given place to the Algonquin name of Quebec (see note). There were then on the St. Lawrence no populous stockaded villages occupied by a sedentary population possessing the social and political organization, crude yet distinct, of the departed race. He found only scattered bands of nomadic Algonquins.

The Huron inhabitants of the *bourgade* of Hochelaga (if we assume they were Hurons), had migrated to the shores of the Georgian Bay on Lake Huron; but the descendants of Donnecana—where were they? Were they with their kindred on Lake Huron, or had they been driven from their picturesque fastness or voluntarily abandoned it in favor of the more temperate valley of the Mohawk?

Indian tradition assigns as the cradle of the Huron-Iroquois race the land south of the St. Lawrence and between it

NOTE.—We assume that Champlain means, when he says it was so called by the Indians, that Quebec was its Indian name, as Kebe-Kebec is the Micmac word for a contracted water-way. We may accept that as the origin of the name in preference to the fanciful myth that Champlain or one of his comrades, on first seeing the magnificent promontory jutting out between the St. Lawrence and the St. Charles, exclaimed "Que Bec!"

Hawkins, in his "Picture of Quebec," reproduces from Edmonstone's "Heraldry," the mutilated seal of William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk—who lived in the reigns of Henry V. and VI. The word *Quebec* occurs in the inscription on the seal. According to Ferland and Faillon, one of de la Pole's titles was "Count of Bri-Quebec"—a name probably therefore contracted into Quebec. The two syllables which compose the word Quebec occur frequently in Norman and Breton names, Caudebec—Briquebose—Briqueville—as well as Briquebec—or as it is sometimes spelled, Bricquebec, near Cherbourg. The Algonquin name Kebe must therefore have sounded so familiar to the Champlain crews, or to Breton or Norman traders or fishermen who preceded him, that they adopted it as transferring an old name to their new home. They may not have called it Quebec in memory of Briquebec, but may merely have adopted the native name because it reminded them of a familiar spot beyond the seas, and was suitable to the locality.

and the sea. Another tradition places the cradle of the race on the Lakes, and makes the tribe migrate first towards the sunrise as far as the sea before they return to their ancestral inland home (Beauchamp's *Iroquois Trail*, page 11). Whichever tradition reflects the truth they both assign to the Iroquois stock a temporary abode where Cartier found them dwelling in the first half of the sixteenth century. In further confirmation of this tradition we find Indian tribes belonging to the same stock occupying the seaboard as far south as Florida. The Cherokees, for instance, possessed ethnical traits and exhibited linguistic peculiarities which linked them to the Iroquois stem. They also displayed all the native prowess of the stock from which they sprung. But while these offshoots of the race, as we presume them to have been, remained on the seaboard, the race itself developed into its most distinctive type in the tribes of the Huron and of the Iroquois Confederations.

The Hurons, when first known distinctly as such, occupied the eastern shore of the Georgian Bay and were at bitter feud with their brethren of the Five Nations, whose stockaded towns extended over the Genesee and Mohawk valleys, south of Lake Ontario, almost from the Niagara river to the Hudson. There was another tradition current among the Hurons, as recorded by the Recollet and Jesuit missionaries, namely, that they had been driven from their former abode on the St. Lawrence by the Senecas. The Wyandott historian, Peter Dooyentate, states that the Senecas even occupied with the Hurons the Island of Montreal (Sir D. Wilson, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, vol. 2). If, as is almost certain, the stockade of Hochelaga was inhabited by the Hurons, it is not a forced conjecture to suppose that the Indians of Stadacona belonged to another but unfriendly branch of the Iroquois family, possibly the ancestors of the Senecas. Their vacillating relations with Cartier would be thus explicable. At first friendly, they assumed a suspicious and almost hostile attitude as soon as he expressed a determination to ascend the river to the headquarters of the Hurons. If they had hostile designs against the Hurons, they would employ every device of Indian diplomacy to prevent the Frenchmen with arquebuses and cannon from form-

ing friendly relations with their foes. Their omission to propose an offensive alliance and a warlike expedition, as the Algonquins did to Champlain in the next century, may have been due to the promptness with which Cartier acted, and the indifference he displayed to their co-operation.

Iroquois tradition dates the formation of their great confederacy back to the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, but though the first imperfect measures of union may then have been formed, the growth and consolidation of its power was gradual. Even after its normal development was interrupted by European interference, we see the Five Nations absorbing a sixth, and strengthening the depleted forces of the confederacy by the incorporation, after their defeat, of a distant and previously hostile branch of the race. Although, therefore, the confederacy may have been established in the Mohawk country and the ground work laid of its future power, it was probably only beginning to experience the enormous force inherent in consolidation when Cartier found the Iroquois occupying the valley of the St. Lawrence. Its astute statesmen, for such they doubtless were, had formulated the distinct policy of gathering into a restricted area of superior agricultural capabilities and strategical position, the most powerful and war-like members of the great scattered family. Of these members the Hurons were the most conspicuous, but they were probably so powerful and numerous as to be unwilling to merge their independence in the rising confederacy, and abandon their favorable site at the junction of the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence. Yet if they refused to enter, and declined to consolidate their forces with those of the confederacy, their separate existence would, from the Iroquois point of view, be a standing menace. They would be certain to become the nucleus of another confederation which would be hostile to, if not destructive of, that already formed; the aim, therefore, of the Mohawk chiefs would be to annihilate, if they could not absorb, their separated brethren. Cartier tells us that the Hochelaga tribe whom we have supposed to be Hurons was already so strong as to dominate the Indians of Stadacona and the lower St. Lawrence. The Mohawk confederacy had thus allies already made, or tribes inclined to

be allies, in the kindred Indians to the east of Hochelaga. In the interval between Roberval's departure and Champlain's appearance on the scene the Mohawk confederation probably swept down on Hochelaga, and, with the aid of the Stadacona-Iroquois, dislodged the Hurons and obliged them to migrate to some other locality. For their new seat the Hurons would naturally choose some locality situated at what they considered a safe distance from the Iroquois canoes, where they would have space in which to grow and opportunity to create, by affiliation, another confederation with which to oppose their implacable enemies. No better spot could have been selected than the shores of the Georgian Bay. Between them and their enemies there lay not only Lake Ontario, but the whole Peninsula of western Ontario, peopled by the Neutres, the Tiontates or Petuns, and other tribes of the Iroquois stock, who, if not their allies, dreaded the power of the confederacy as acutely as they did themselves.

The story of what befell them in their retreat on Lake Huron and how at length they returned to the St. Lawrence under the protection of the French, forms an interesting and pathetic part of the history of New France during the seventeenth century. In fact, that history was shaped in a great measure by the complications which sprung out of the French entanglements in Huron wars and politics. These subsequent events are matters of history. The tragedies, however, which were enacted in this dark corner of the continent during the half century or more of obscurity, following Cartier's and Roberval's departure, can be a subject for speculation only. But it is a dramatically interesting one. We cannot imagine that the small migratory bands of hunters without organization or policy, whom Champlain found on the St. Lawrence, destroyed the stockaded town of Hochelaga after subduing the populous tribes of Stadacona and its vicinity. It was only when the combined strength of the Iroquois of the East and of the West had crushed the Huron Iroquois that the poor wandering Micmacs, or whoever the Algonquins may have been, ventured to enter on the vacated territory. The Stadacona Indians may have been Senecas, but, whether they were or not, if they were the allies of the Mohawks in this their first Huron

war, it was in obedience to the wise policy of consolidation that they abandoned their home, which was too far from the centre of consolidation to be safe, and removed to some territory contiguous to that already occupied by the confederated nations. Moreover, if they were the tribe afterwards known as the Senecas they became the left wing of the forces of that powerful group of war-like communities, and occupied the shores of the beautiful lake of that name to the west of the Onondagas, who probably then occupied the country between Oneida and Cayuga lakes. They therefore formed the westerly bulwark between the other members of the compact and the Hurons. They must have been the most obnoxious of all the Iroquois nations to that most harassed member of the family. It was consistent therefore with the existence of this grudge that when the Hurons in 1616 secured the co-operation of Champlain in one of their war-like expeditions they should lead him to attack the Senecas.

If my supposition be correct, the 65 years of dense obscurity covered the critical period in the history of the Mohawk confederacy. It had, we may assume, been created and its general policy formed during the previous centuries.* That policy was to incorporate into the confederacy friendly branches of the parent stock, on consideration of their adopting its principles and merging their own individuality into the unity of the league, but ruthlessly to crush and, if possible, annihilate all rivals. The con-

* Mons. Laverdière in the note to page 1032 of his edition of Champlain, in explanation of Champlain's statement that the Iroquois were weary of the war which had been waged for over 50 years, says: "This passage give us, at least approximately, the date of the famous quarrel to which Nicholas Perrot and the Relation of 1660 refer, and which made of the Algonquins and the Iroquois irreconcilable enemies. This would assign the date 1570 to this profound division, if indeed, it was not a revival of an older feud, for the Indians whom Cartier found in the country, and who appear to have been called 'les bons Iroquois,' already had as enemies, as early as 1535, a nation living to the south, then called the Toudamans (the same doubtless as the Tsountouans or Tsonnontouans), with whom they were constantly at war." I think it more likely that the Toudamans were a band of the Iroquois who became involved in the impending racial war.

Father Le Jeune, in the Relation of 1633, says that a Huron, "Pierre Paste de chouan," told him that his grandmother used to relate with pleasure the astonishment with which the Indians saw the vessel in which the French arrived moving like a floating island.

Father Lalemant, in Chapt. II. of the Relation of 1660, repeats the same tradition as Perrot.

federacy probably then consisted of not more than four so called nations. But just as it was becoming sensible of the power of combination, there sprang up on the St. Lawrence another highly organized nation with similar institutions and instincts, and presumably kindred aims, which would be sure to gather to itself, in a rival and necessarily hostile combination, the tribe or tribes, presumably the Senecas, occupying the lower St. Lawrence. There were already signs of co-operation at the period of Cartier's third voyage. We have seen how the chief of Hochalai was combining with the chief of Stadacona against him. There was evidently, therefore, danger to the Mohawk supremacy in any other confederation, whether it were grouped around the Stadacona or the Hochelaga tribe. And so, by means of diplomacy and war the Huron hopes and Huron influence were crushed and the Iroquois of Stadacona were first secured as allies, and then drawn in from the St. Lawrence and incorporated into the Mohawk confederacy. The St. Lawrence allies then formed the fifth nation of the league, and added greatly to the terror which its valor and discipline cast over the whole middle section of eastern North America. It is strange that events and incidents so important and so recent should have failed to be recorded by the missionaries, who not long after made their abode among the Hurons; for oral tradition is almost undying among the Indians, and there must have been aged men and women on the Georgian Bay who had been born at Hochelaga and remembered the great migration. But the spirit of historical criticism was not strong in the early colonists of New France, even Champlain being no exception. Thus it came about that a complete revolution of the most momentous kind, and one which produced grave consequences during the early course of Canadian history, remains untold and can only be guessed at—a curious example of how short a space of time may suffice for great national changes to take place, and all record of them to be obliterated, if neither architectural monuments nor written literature exists to commemorate past or record current events. We can only conjure up in imagination what happened: the formal councils in the lodges of the Iroquois and Hurons; the protracted negoti-

ations between the rival confederacies; the gravity and earnestness of the warrior delegates as they discussed the alternatives of peace or war; the care with which the leaders elaborated their plans of campaign, after all possible alliances had been secretly made; the attack in force upon the Hochelaga stockade; the failure to destroy it by a *coup de main*, followed by the ceaseless harassment by small bands of Iroquois of every party of Hurons venturing beyond the stockade, till their fields lay waste and the river with its fish, though under their very eyes, became virtually inaccessible. The Hurons were evidently too strong to be conquered and annihilated, and too independent to accept absorption, but yet too weak to become aggressive. The war was doubtless waged with the same fiendish ingenuity and barbarous cruelty with which the second war against the same Hurons in the next century was prosecuted. Hochelaga was probably not abandoned till the retreat of those of its defenders who survived became the one alternative to annihilation. When they decided to abandon their magnificent position, magnificent then as now, at the meeting of the two great water-ways, they must have escaped at a moment when their enemies were off the watch. The line of flight must have been by canoe up the Ottawa and the Mattawa through Lake Nipissing and down the French river into land-locked recesses at the Georgian Bay, which they evidently thought would be a safe retreat.

While these politicians and warriors in the dense forests of America were framing policies, negotiating alliances, plotting one another's destruction, waging war with relentless ferocity, and watching with sleepless vigilance their opportunity to kill and torture; while their fleets of canoes were stealthily moving to points of attack or noiselessly carrying them to some secluded place of safety; while the game of statecraft and of war was being played with no great world looking on to applaud or condemn, but with an energy as intense and with cunning as astute as if the drama were being enacted on a vaster field and the issues were of world-wide interest, the same qualities were being exercised on the other side of the sea, but amidst different surroundings and with different results. Nevertheless what transpired during those six-

ty-five years in the hidden recesses of that great silent land—the building up of the Iroquois confederacy, the migration of the Hurons to the Georgian Bay, and the abandonment of the St. Lawrence were incidents of no slight importance in giving shape and direction to the early history of New France, New Amsterdam and New England.

In Europe at the same time, opposing powers and principles were gathering themselves together into hostile camps and preparing to transfer their quarrels to the new world, where they would invade those same dense forests and traverse those same watery highways in alliance with the Indian braves, who were simultaneously being consolidated into antagonistic groups. The reformation in religion was only one expression of the great revolution in thought and morals which had been slowly working in Europe. No sooner had it become the issue, than it divided Europe into two sections, along lines mainly racial. Italy and Spain felt feebly the new impulse; France was convulsed, but the old thought succeeded in repressing the new. In Germany, the Netherlands, England, the Lowlands of Scotland, and Scandinavia, the love of liberty proved stronger than the love of art, and the appeal to private judgment more attractive than the claims of tradition. Some of the Swiss cantons originated a new faith; others adhered to the old. The lines of cleavage did not follow with sufficient accuracy geographical or racial lines to permit of absolute generalization; but, roughly speaking, the so-called Latin races remained true to the old Church; the Teutonic race adopted widely different systems of theology and of church government. When the Reformation, using the term in its popular sense, was accepted by a nation at large, there followed in its wake a more or less radical political revolution. The abandonment of traditional religion seemed always to result in a weakening of faith in the established political system, and a desire to throw off the trammels at once of governmental subjection and ecclesiastical control. In fact, religious revolt was usually preceded by a movement in the direction of political freedom.

Absolutism in an extreme form continued to oppress Spain, and

was riveted by her on her American colonies. A more moderate phase of it gained the victory in France, and was transferred to New France. The gradual change from mediæval monarchy to constitutional rule, and from Romanism to ritualistic Protestantism, was worked out in England, with one great oscillation toward extremes, in politics and religion. Strange to say, the conflicting tendencies were represented in her two groups of North American settlers—those of Virginia and of Plymouth Bay. Thus were all the contending forces which were disrupting Europe transferred to our Western wilds—here on an open field, under entirely new conditions, to wreck or to build into mighty nations, the weak, isolated communities which for a time could barely support life in the hard struggle with savage nature and more savage men. Here also was to be gradually evolved a solution which has never yet been completely realized in Europe—a free church in a free State. It was a conception so foreign to the mind of the sixteenth century, that, though conformable to the principles of Protestantism, and certainly to the conception of the primitive church, it was far from being acted upon even in the Puritan colonies. Nevertheless its gradual realization marked the steps towards real freedom and prosperity in the North American settlements.

It was during the interval between Cartier and Champlain that the schism occurred in Europe which led to the foundation of New France under most intimate church and State alliance, and of New England under principles the outcome of which was the complete dissociation of Church and State. Here, therefore, in the dense forests of that section of the New World which had escaped absorption because of its forbidding climate and aspect, representatives of the two extreme wings of the parties then dividing Europe were about to try the great experiment as to which is most conducive to national progress and human happiness—individual freedom of thought and personal participation in government, or the waiving of private judgment in obedience to tradition, ecclesiastical authority, and paternal rule. The lines of demarcation were more clearly drawn in North America than in Europe, for there was no mixture of op-

posing religious elements in either of the two communities of New France and New England. The New England colonists might dispute with one another on nice points of theology, but they were at one in their hostility to papacy and prelacy. And during the sixty-five years of obscurity of the St. Lawrence region, the civil war which had raged in old France, between the Huguenots and the Catholics, had terminated with results so disastrous to the former that a royal decree ordained that no heretic should be allowed to contaminate the soil of New France, or instill false doctrines into the fallow Indian mind. Nor was the arbitrary exclusion of the most active element of French society resented; for Frenchmen were as a nation indifferent, and French Protestantism was perhaps more political than religious. It is certain that Henry IV. would not have found the French so willing to follow him obediently into the fold of dissent as the English were to be guided by Henry VIII. Henry III. was assassinated by a tool of the monkish faction because he had made concessions to his Huguenot subjects. When, therefore, Henry IV. ascended the throne, his conviction of the vast preponderance of public opinion in favor of the old faith must have been one of the arguments which drove him to renounce the Protestant cause, of which he had been so illustrious a champion. Another doubtless was the determination to be king in the same full sense in which his predecessors had been, and not a monarch subject to a Parliament, as he would necessarily be if a Huguenot king. Of the two evils, he preferred to share his power with the church rather than with a popular assembly. The maximum demands of the church he could calculate on; the extravagant and ever-multiplying demands of the Parliament, who could estimate? For the same reason he riveted on New France a large measure of ecclesiastical domination, in order that he and his successors might continue to exercise absolute monarchical rule.

CHAPTER IV.

Early Trading Companies and Champlain's Apprenticeship, 1608-1612.

Cartier's voyages, though temporary failures, had a notable influence. The experience of the gentlemen adventurers who had accompanied Roberval was so different from that of the Spanish colonists of rank that France decided she must offer inducements in the way of trade monopolies if her great domain was to be explored and colonized by private enterprise. Yet, even without this stimulus, the commercial spirit which was awakened under Francis I. never again slumbered, though to the French merchant foreign commerce seems not to have been as congenial as domestic trade. The French sailor has never been lacking in daring or seamanship. No service ever demanded these qualities in so high a degree as the Newfoundland fisheries; and it was the Norman, Breton and Basque fishermen who first followed the Portuguese in drawing on the almost inexhaustible treasures of these prolific banks. The French seaman has always been more ready to risk his life than the French merchant to venture his savings in foreign trade. Whenever the latter did so it was usually as a member of a corporation or of a chartered company with exclusive state privileges and monopolies, not as a private individual.

The association of merchants and manufacturers for mutual protection and for regulation of prices was a phase of commercial life all over Europe throughout the Middle Ages. The Hanseatic league was a closer and more comprehensive corporation than any created since. In the twelfth century we find the Basque fishermen combining for defense and aid, and even pooling their profits. Yet it was not until the sixteenth century, after the discovery of America and a sea route to the Indies, with the consequent commercial ascendancy of Spain and Portugal, that the English,

French and Dutch were instigated by jealousy and legitimate rivalry to extend their commerce beyond the seas. That these merchants should combine was an inevitable consequence of the incessant wars in which the rival nations were engaged, of the ambiguous distinction between piracy and legitimate naval warfare, and of the resulting insecurity of the ocean highways. There was safety in numbers of ships and division of risks. But the motives and methods of the national companies differed as widely as the national characteristics of their shareholders. Pierre Bonnassieux, in his work, "*Les Grandes Compagnies de Commerce*," draws broadly the distinction between the French and the English and Dutch trading companies. He says, "When we come to investigate the fundamental features which distinguish the French companies from the Dutch and English, we find that the French commercial companies were with few exceptions the direct creation of the government. While private initiative and public opinion contributed to the formation of the great companies of the other powers, we see the government of France always at the head of every enterprise of this kind. As a result this royal intervention proclaims itself in privileges and favors of all kinds. No country has suffered in like manner from monopolies so rigorous, privileges so extreme, as France under the Old Regime. The absence of all spirit of freedom of trade in the nation at large, the vicious system of land tenure in the colonies, with the consequent blight of all energy and perseverance among the colonists, religious intolerance, and above all commercial exclusiveness were the consequences of such a system of state initiative and control. Trade is still held in low estimation in France, and rarely will a man of great wealth or social position take an active part in the management of a great company." What is true in this respect to-day was curiously exemplified four centuries ago, when the King, to combat the social prejudices against trade, offered titles of nobility to commoners willing to risk a certain sum in enterprises which the government was fostering.

No country can without fear of challenge claim priority as the initiator of great commercial companies. Though it was the success of Spain and Portugal that stimulated other countries,

we do not find that these pioneers did much to favor commercial corporations in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The company of the Portuguese Merchants created in 1443 by Prince Henry of Portugal to found factories in Africa and traffic in gold and slaves for importation into the Iberian Peninsula; the concession given to certain Flemish merchants by Charles V. to supply the Spanish colonies with negro slaves, and the Brazil Company, created by Portugal in 1649, which secured to her control of a vast section of South America, then in danger of falling under Dutch influence, appear to sum up their attempts in that direction.

It is lamentable that the first chartered company should have been organized to deal in human flesh, and that one of the first of the English naval heroes should have been a slave hunter and a slave trader.*

In the sixteenth century France was the first Western power to obtain by capitulation from the Porte certain exclusive trade rights in the Levant, and to confer on an organized company a monopoly of trading in that region. The Frenchman also opened up a trade in coral on the African coast. The list of so-called "Regulated Companies" organized in England in the sixteenth century is the most memorable. It comprises the African Company, organized in 1536, the Russian Company, in 1556, the Levant Company, in 1581. The constitution of these "Regulated Companies" allowed any member to trade, within the sphere of the company's rights and privileges, on his own account. The Levant was the last of these important corporations, and the famous East India Company was the first of the great English Stock Companies. It dates its birth from the very last day of the sixteenth century. But all these corporations were trading, not colonization, companies.

It was France who took the lead as a colonizer through corporate co-operation. She had contemplated, as we have seen, founding a colony in Canada under Cartier and Roberval. But the enterprise did not assume the character of a commercial com-

*Sir Humphrey Gilbert sincerely assigned the sowing of Christianity as the first duty of the explorer. Yet, judged by the standards of to-day, Sir Humphrey, freebooter and slaveholder, was hardly a model disciple of Christ.

pany. The ships and funds were provided by the French Government. The loss through the failure of this attempt may have determined the Government not to use the public funds again directly for colonization purposes. The next colonization schemes were those of Admiral Coligny. The Government did not support, nor yet overtly oppose, the two disastrous enterprises conceived and supported by the Huguenots—the first to Brazil under Villegagnon in 1555, the second to Florida under Ribout in 1560. The motive was to escape religious persecution, and had they survived, they could have been sustained only as industrial and commercial enterprises, under Huguenot influence and with Huguenot capital. France might thus have claimed to be innocent of disregarding the Bull of Alexander VI. They failed, however, and the French Government decided to restrict its sphere of operations on the North American Continent, to the land lying to the north of the sphere assigned by the Pope to Spain and Portugal. The growing importance of the Newfoundland fisheries also attracted her to those less genial regions.

After Roberval's failure the French had never actually retreated from the St. Lawrence as traders, for Cartier had pointed out the road to the Saguenay and indicated the rich fur country of which it was the outlet. But no active attempt to found a settlement was again made in the sixteenth century. Hakluyt has preserved for us two letters of Cartier's nephew, Jacques Noël, which refer to certain operations in Canada; and according to Lescarbot, the said Jacques Noël and his relative, the *Sieur de la Journaye*, obtained from Henry III. in 1588 a monopoly of the fur trade, on condition of their establishing a colony in Canada. This commission, if really given, was cancelled before its expiry, for Henry IV., in 1598, conferred the commission of King's Lieutenant, with all the high-sounding powers and privileges with which Roberval had been endowed, on Le *Sieur Marquis de la Roche de Bretagne*. Lescarbot, commenting on this, considers that it was a proof of the want of French public spirit in maritime affairs, that in 1585 the *Sieur de la Journaye Chaton* and Jacques Noël, nephews and heirs of Cartier, lost the exclusive privileges of trading with the Indians, which had been granted them for

twelve years, at the instigation of the merchants of St. Malo. The heirs of Cartier based their claim on the fact that they were endeavoring to carry on, at their own expense, the exploration begun by their illustrious uncle; that they had lost a fleet of three or four boats by fire, and that it was only fair that the King should renew in their favor the commission granted to Cartier, considering that he had expended on the expedition of 1640 sixteen hundred and thirty-eight livres more than he had received. This is the only hint we find that Cartier himself enjoyed any trading privileges. The St. Malo merchants claimed that the monopoly was unfair to their mariners, who had invested money in the fur trade. Lescarbot says: "It is argued that we must not tamper with the liberty common to all men who are willing to engage without trammel in foreign commerce; but I want to know which is to be preferred—the propagation of the Christian religion and the spread of French influence, or the selfish interests of a greedy merchant, who does nothing either for God or the King. As a result, that beautiful Dame Liberty prevents these poor, erring souls becoming Christians, and has interfered with the planting of French colonies, where our own people would have found homes, instead of being driven to carry aching hearts into Germany, Flanders, England and elsewhere. And it is due to this same Dame Liberty and the jealousy of our merchants that beaver skins are selling to-day at eight and one-half livres (\$1.70), while at the date of Jacques Noël's commission they were worth about fifty sous (two and a half livres). Of a certainty, if we deem the Christian faith and religion to be of any account, it is worth while contributing something to those who risk their lives and fortunes in advancing its interests and the public weal." The arguments pro and con have very much the ring of the arguments for and against trusts and monopolies in the present day.

The trade, however, on the Banks had grown so active that the idea of colonizing Canada was probably never completely lost sight of. Gosselin, in his *Marine Normande*, says: "There was great activity in cod fishing, for from 1543 to 1545 two vessels sailed daily during January and February of

those years from the ports of Rouen, Havre, Harfleur and Dieppe. After this trade languished, but shortly revived with augmented activity, and large ships even up to 150 tons burden were built for the Newfoundland fishery after 1560. This seems to have stimulated the Government to re-occupy Canada, for in the Archives of Rouen there is a notarial check for the sale from Robert Gouel to Guillaume le Beau, the Receiver-General of Finance of the King, of a quantity of tools for transportation to New France, whither the King will send them shortly for his services. This purchase was supplementary to the purchase of a supply of arms, for on April 7th Johan Garnier, Lieutenant of the Company of Captain Legrange, gave a receipt to the same Guillaume le Beau for 400 livres to be spent in the purchase of arquebuses and ammunition needed by the French infantry, which it was the pleasure of the good King to send shortly to New France for the defense thereof." No record of the contemplated expedition has been found, and the project, it is probable, was not unwisely abandoned as being on too small a scale for success.

The Sieur de la Roche enjoyed but an empty honor in his commission, for he never extended his viceroyalty beyond Sable Island, where he left part of his miserable colonists to starve. One year sufficed to extinguish his hopes, and sweep away a large share of his fortune, for in 1599 his commission was cancelled, and certain exclusive rights of trade in furs with the Indians of the Saguenay were given to Sieur Chauvin, "a man well skilled in navigation and who had served his Majesty faithfully in bygone wars, even though he was of the so-called Reformed Religion," so says Champlain. He associated himself with the Sieur du Pont-gravé, another confessed heretic. Their main object being to trade with the Indians of the Saguenay for furs, they built a small house at Tadousac, and took the initial steps towards founding a settlement at that point, which since the days of Cartier had been the rendezvous in springtime of the Indian and French traders. Another partner was Pierre Dugas, Sieur de Monts de Saintonge, who will reappear in our narrative as a promoter of more important schemes, but who accompanied this expedition rather out of curiosity than with any commercial object.

Both Pontgravé and he clearly saw that, as the rocks of Tadousac could hardly support the stunted spruce, an agricultural colony there would thrive but poorly. Champlain quaintly remarks that Tadousac is more noted for its cold than for any other of its products, inasmuch as, for every ounce of frost that other localities can furnish, Tadousac can supply a pound. The two junior partners, moved by these considerations, suggested that Chauvin, as he had on a previous voyage ascended the river to Three Rivers, should explore the main river in search of a more eligible site. The views, however, of that thrifty adventurer were limited to making money out of the fur and fishing trades. He did not aspire to founding an empire, and therefore refused to do more than build a house to protect the unfortunates who were to be left behind to face the misery of the winter. This done, the three partners sailed back to France. The winter quarters of the settlers in this dreary wilderness proved warm enough, but food was scarce. Eleven died, and the remainder had to leave their shanty and live on the charity of the Indians. But spring returned, and with it the ships.

A second prosperous voyage was made in 1600, and a third on a more extensive scale was being planned, when Chauvin was seized with a mortal illness, and the enterprise died with its founder. All that Champlain can find fault with in the organization of the undertaking is that a heretic should have been sent forth to convert the Canadian Indians to the Holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church,—a paradox no doubt, if we are to take seriously the religious platitudes with which all the commercial concessions are prefaced, and which a free thinker like Marc Lescarbot, and libertines like Francis I. and some of his successors, used as glibly as any of the ecclesiastical statesmen or the really pious Recollet and Jesuit missionaries. It is not accidental that these pioneers should have been heretics. That same spirit of independence which instigated the revolt against the authority of the Church and against monarchical absolutism impelled them to seek fortune in new and more hazardous ventures than their more conservative fellow merchants of the Catholic faith.

Chauvin dead, another suppliant for exclusive trade privileges

immediately appeared in the person of *Sieur Commandeur de Chaste*, Governor of *Dieppe*, who promised, in return for the usual monopoly, to explore the upper *St. Lawrence* and its rapids, which had heretofore impeded all advance beyond the old stockade of *Hochelaga*. The undertaking was onerous, so *de Chaste* associated with himself some responsible merchants of *Rouen*, and gave the first command to *Pontgravé*, *Chauvin's* old lieutenant, who had navigated the river as far up at least as the *Saguenay*. While the expedition was being fitted out *de Chaste* met a sailor who had just returned from a voyage of two and a half years to *Brazil* and the *South Seas*, and whom he rightly judged to be well fitted to take an active part in his venture. As soon as the latter had obtained his discharge from naval duty he joined *Pontgravé* and set sail for the *St. Lawrence*. This was in 1603. The adventurous seafarer, then in the prime of life, was destined to justify *de Chaste's* judgment of his character and to fill ably the place *de Chaste* had dreamed of himself occupying. His name was *Samuel de Champlain*, and the record tells us that he was born at *Brouage*, a seaport of *Saintonge*, not far south of *La Rochelle*, in the year 1567.

Fortunately for posterity the sailor was also a scholar and a most graphic writer. For twenty-nine years, until 1632, three years before his death, we have in his own words the charmingly told story of the vicissitudes of the struggling colony of which he was the parent, and over which he watched with all a parent's solicitude until the close of his life. The incidents of this his first voyage to the *St. Lawrence* were given in detail in his work, "*Des Sauvages*," and repeated in the more condensed narrative of his voyages, published in 1632. *Pontgravé* was in command and *Champlain* his lieutenant. They opened trade with the *Indians* at *Tadousac*; then ascended the river, cast anchor at *Quebec*, by him first mentioned under that name, where the river of *Canada* (*St. Lawrence*) narrows to some 3,000 feet in width. Above *Quebec* *Champlain* describes minutely the features of the river and its tributaries, the *Batiscan* and *Richelieu*; he also mentions *Montreal*, but tells not a word of the vanished stockade of *Hochelaga*. They made an unsuccessful attempt to mount the

rapids, then returned to Tadousac, took on board a cargo of furs, and sailed for Harfleur, only to find that de Chaste had died on the 13th of May, 1603, shortly after their departure, and while the ships were battling with the wintry gales in the Gulf of the St. Lawrence. With de Chaste expired his commission and all efforts by his partners to live up to it and fulfill its conditions.

At once another actor steps upon the stage. De Monts, Chauvin's old partner, had been satisfied with his one trip to Tadousac for a pastime. His commission was dated the same year that Chauvin's expired. It is certain, therefore, that these enterprising Huguenots wasted no time, and were as diligent in business as they were fervent in spirit. Associating with himself in the enterprise a number of merchants of La Rochelle and Rouen of his own faith, he sent one vessel to trade with the Indians at Tadousac, while he, with the aid of Champlain, the old pilot, Pontgravé, and Sieur de Poutrincourt, undertook the hopeless task of founding a colony on the Atlantic seaboard, as a medium for spreading the Holy Catholic faith, though it was at the same time to be conducted on the principles of religious liberty and equality, which the reformers were then talking so much about, and themselves practising so indifferently. He enlisted a number of artisans and peasants, and for their spiritual guidance employed both a Roman Catholic priest and a minister of the reformed faith. The whole company composed a crew of as incompetent settlers and as incongruous leaders as ever started out on a bootless errand. Champlain may not have been a man of sound doctrine himself. If he was not slightly infected by the new notions, he was at least a liberal Catholic and a shrewd man of the world; in any case his reflections on de Monts' failure can hardly be gainsaid. They were to the effect that the example of two opposing religions is never conducive to the glory of God in the sight of the heathen, whom the belligerent missionaries are endeavoring to convert. "I have seen our curate and our missionary coming even to blows in defense of their opinions. I cannot venture to decide which was the bravest man, and which gave the hardest knocks, but this I do know, that the minister often grumbled to Dupont about having been beaten, and yet

insisted on discussing the points in controversy." The Indians took sides, and the French colonists stood up for their respective opinions and champions, while Dupont and Champlain had to do their best to make peace between the warring factions.

One of Champlain's comrades in Acadia, and one of his close friends, was that good-natured philosopher and skeptic, Lescarbot, who, reflecting on the same subject, says "it is difficult—well nigh impossible—to make all men think alike, especially on matters subject to diverse interpretation. The Emperor Charles V., after the diet of Augsburg, and, after trying in vain to effect the impossible, in molding men's opinions into one fashion, retired from the world and buried himself in a monastery, employing his leisure in making clocks; but ere long he found it as difficult to make all his clocks strike in unison, though designed on the same model and manufactured by the same hand, as he had found it to secure harmony in the opinions of his subjects." Even that earnest Recollet missionary, the Reverend Father Sagard, cannot help joking upon this subject, when he tells us that, a priest and a minister dying within a short time of one another, their irreverent flock buried them in the same grave and watched to see whether they, who during life had quarreled so incessantly, could at length rest together in peace.

The Breton merchants, meanwhile, were opposing these monstrous monopolies; the clergy at the same time were representing the absurdity and wickedness of subsidizing heretics to spread the true faith; and thus, through one influence and another, de Monts' commission was revoked. His failure to reconcile the irreconcilable must have persuaded even so pronounced a latitudinarian as Henry IV. of the impossibility of combining members of opposing religious sects in colonization enterprises, one of the avowed purposes of which was always to evangelize the natives. Champlain's experience in Acadia, of the intractable character of clergymen, whether priests of Rome, claiming infallibility by virtue of their ordination by a bishop of apostolic descent, or ministers, basing their infallibility on their interpretation of the Bible, must have influenced him when he came himself to be a commander. He may have had Huguenot leanings. He

probably had; but as a Governor, under commission from a Roman Catholic king and statesman, he recognized the incompatibility of theological discord and civil harmony, and consequently acquiesced in the provision that excluded Huguenots from the future colony of Canada. Mankind has not yet learned to practise the forbearance necessary to real civil and religious liberty; nor, in the height of the contest between the forces of tradition and of reason, when each side had to stand by its position without faltering, could it be expected that allowance would be made for possible error in one's premises or conclusions; or the least distrust be admitted as to the validity of one's authorities. The innumerable compromises upon which tolerance must rest were not in accordance with the spirit of the age. The tone of half cynical open-mindedness which we enjoy in Erasmus, and yet cannot admire, even when compared with the uncompromising bigotry of his opponents in his own church, could not express the spirit of a revolutionary period. Such men as the narrow-minded Carmelite, Egmont, whom Erasmus has pilloried to all ages as the embodiment of ignorance and spleen, were fighting for the very life of the venerable institutions of which they were the servants, and of necessity they were bigoted. On the other hand Luther and Calvin and John Knox knew instinctively that they were the pioneers of a great movement, which was to liberate man from the bondage of caste and superstition, though they could not possibly foresee the full political result of the theological controversy they had excited. Their thoughts were concentrated on the divine message they believed they were delegated to deliver as they read it in the Bible. In their own estimation, they were more directly under the divine guidance than the priests. They were quite as certain as any priest could be of the impregnability of their assumed position—in other words, as bigoted. For in a time of revolution toleration is the most intolerable of all vices. It is cowardice under the garb of charity.

Champlain was not bigoted. None of his actions reveal him in that character. But, on the other hand, neither was he an eighteenth century skeptic, nor a nineteenth century latitudinarian in theology and politics. He was a soldier and a civil governor,

and knew the value of harmony and obedience. It is only as time advances that we can see in his narrative a tendency towards greater rigidity. He had seen the freebooter Argall sweep down upon his old friends at Mount Desert and Port Royal in Acadia in 1613-1614, destroying and relentlessly carrying them off into captivity in the name of God and Protestantism. And what he witnessed in the neighboring colony of New England must have convinced him of the wisdom of maintaining uniformity of ecclesiastical rule, even if he could not command absolute unity of theological opinion in the little community which he governed. He could not, from his point of view as a Frenchman imbued with the spirit of French bureaucracy, duly appreciate the merits and foresee the ultimately beneficent consequences of the New England system in its application to matters of state as well as of Church. What did happen before Champlain's death was that the theological intolerance of Massachusetts grew to such a height, and the theological ferment waxed so hot, that Roger Williams could secure the freedom he demanded only by branching off from the Colony of Plymouth and founding a church and state of his own in Rhode Island; that Thomas Hooker was driven to plant the New Hartford Colony, where he could breathe more freely apart from the narrowness of the Massachusetts churchmen; while John Davenport was moved to go forth into the wilderness and establish the colony of New Haven under a rule still more theocratic than that of the original Massachusetts system, though it also made church membership the qualification of citizenship. Champlain, however, had occasion to learn, before he ended his career, that peace and harmony do not always prevail even within the bosom of the Holy Roman Catholic Church itself; for, while maintaining unity of doctrine, its officers in New France and elsewhere found themselves widely at variance as to the expediency of certain rules and practices. A tonsure will no more circumscribe men's thoughts than a soutane or a cowl obliterate human passion.

But to return to Champlain's apprenticeship for the work that lay before him. For three years he shared the fitful fortunes of his countrymen in Acadia, employed chiefly in exploring the deep

indentations of the rugged coast of the present New Brunswick and Maine. When he returned to France in 1607 he reported himself to his master, de Monts. Just at that moment a pious woman, Madame de Guercheville, wife of the Duke de la Rochefoucault de Liancourt, in the fulness of her zeal for the spread of Christianity among the Indians through the agency of the Jesuits, was contemplating the devotion of 3,600 livres to that good end, under the direction of Father Coton. De Monts tried to induce the pious almoner to invest her funds in his venture, and Champlain must have added his persuasion, for he reflected long afterwards that all the misfortune that befell the French in Acadia; Argall's victory; the transportation of the captives to Virginia, and a host of other mishaps would have been avoided had the good lady given her 3,000 livres towards the foundation of Quebec, so far from the seaboard, and beyond the ken and rapacity, as she thought, of the English colonists. But she was too orthodox to entrust her contribution for foreign missions to an avowed Huguenot and his lukewarm lieutenants. De Monts was compelled, therefore, to depend upon his own resources.

Upon Champlain's advice he abandoned the Atlantic coast in favor of the St. Lawrence. Champlain's argument was that the English were fishing at a distance of only thirteen or fourteen leagues from Mount Desert, and that the Atlantic settlers were therefore in constant danger from their rapacious instincts and habits. Under this new project, de Monts, in 1608, fitted out two vessels in Honfleur, committed the command of the expedition to Champlain, and entrusted one of the ships to Pontgravé, as well he might, for that old sailor had taken part in three previous enterprises, knew every feature of the gulf and river, and was thoroughly acquainted with the habits and tastes of the Indians. The aim of the expedition was to colonize as well as to trade, but again money-making was more important than empire-making to the men who had risked their fortunes in the enterprise; and it is not surprising to find that for many a year the higher motive was subordinate to the meaner. Pontgravé preceded Champlain, who reached Tadousac on the 3d of June. His lieutenant had before his arrival, in pursuance of the King's orders, forbidden Basque

vessels, already in the port, to trade for peltries with the Indians; but the Basques, under their leader Darache, not only disregarded his command, but fired on Pontgravé's ship, wounded him, killed a number of his crew and boarded his vessel, from which they removed the cannon and all dangerous weapons. Champlain, not wishing to run the risk of wrecking his whole enterprise, compromised with the unruly aggressor, and, while a schooner of twelve or fourteen tons was being built in which to pursue his journey up the St. Lawrence, he explored the Saguenay.

On June 30th Champlain left Tadousac, and sailing up the South Channel, anchored on the 3d of July at Quebec, and at once chose a spot for his first building. Champlain tells the story of his voyage in detail in his edition of 1613, but, in the narrative published in 1632, he dismisses in very few words what must be regarded as one of the most momentous of the many epoch-making voyages of that age of adventure, seeing that in digging the foundation of his "habitation," he founded the capital of New France, and gave birth to a new power in the Western World. "I selected," he says, "a spot where the river is narrowest, and which the natives called Quebec, and there I commenced to build and cultivate a patch of ground, after clearing away the forest." But he adds: "While we were moiling and toiling amid hardship and worry, many looked back to France to see what was there being done towards furthering the enterprise." Unquestionably this was the attitude from first to last—looking to France to see what was being done, and to inquire what was to be done next. Quebec in truth was for many a day a mere trading post; as clearly, therefore, as the material available permits, we must learn the character and constitution of those trading companies which nominally supporting it, in reality retarded its development; and of those earlier trading and colonization enterprises whose rapid succession we have briefly described.

In the instructions given to Cartier and Roberval, as we have seen, there is not a hint of any inducement, in the shape of monopoly in trade or exemption from duty or imposts, offered to merchants to engage in their voyages. Cartier's first and second voyages were simply voyages of discovery; the third, under or in

co-operation with, Roberval, was undertaken to found a colony at the expense of the Crown, though perhaps Roberval and some of his noble associates contributed. It was so costly that the Home Government does not appear to have ever repeated the experiment in North America. The profits of the trade in furs were sufficient to induce the merchants of the northern ports of France to engage in it, either exclusively, or as subsidiary to their fishing enterprises, without inducement from Government. But what the successors of Francis I. wanted was to found a colony beyond the sea without drawing on the public treasury. To induce merchants to undertake responsibilities as colonizers which could hardly fail to be detrimental to their interests as fur traders, the Government adopted the plan of constituting monopolies within certain territorial limits, to which were attached, not only freedom from duties and imposts in France, but high and important powers of control and administration within the vast domain so conceded. Noël's monopoly, to which we have referred, probably did not involve colonizing conditions, and was speedily repealed. Henry III. was induced, however, to extend wider privileges to the Sieur de la Roche only ten years later. The terms of his concession indicate already the pattern on which French colonies were to be constituted, and although his enterprise was a most unhappy failure, still, as foreshadowing the future policy of France in the New World, the terms of the deed are worth quoting. The document commences by recounting Francis I.'s effort to found a colony under Roberval, and his (Henry's) ambition to carry out his ancestor's project. To that end he confers on the Sieur de la Roche like powers, and constitutes him Lieutenant-General of the said country of Canada, Hochelaga, Newfoundland, Labrador, the River of the Great Bay of Norembègue, and the land adjacent to the said provinces and rivers, which are of great length and extent, and nevertheless uninhabited by the subjects of Christian princes. Within the limits of his jurisdiction de la Roche is given authority to exercise ample civil and religious jurisdiction, to make laws, statutes and ordinances, enforce obedience, punish or pardon delinquents, remit penalties; it being always understood that these powers are

not to be exercised in any countries under control of any other prince or potentate who is a friend, ally or confederate of France. In order to increase the good will, courage and loyalty of those who shall take part in the said expedition, and likewise of those who shall remain in the country, there is conferred on him the power to cede portions of the land which he shall have acquired in the proposed exploration, with full rights of property to the persons on whom they shall be bestowed and to their successors, namely, gentlemen and those whom he shall judge to be persons of merit; such grants to be in the form of *fiefs*, *seigneuries*, *châtellenies*, *comtés*, *vicomtés*, *baronnies* and other dignities in fealty to us, as he may judge suitable to the particular services of each individual, on condition of their serving in the defence of the said countries. On others of meaner condition the land shall be conferred, subject to such charge and annual rent as he shall prescribe. "Nevertheless," the commission adds, "our intention is that they shall be relieved from the payment of dues for the first six years, or for such other terms as our lieutenant shall deem right and necessary; but these exemptions are in no case to include freedom from military service. Also on the return of our said lieutenant he may distribute to others who have taken part in the voyage the gains and profits accruing from said enterprise, giving one third to those who make the voyage, retaining one third to cover his own costs and expenses; the other third to be applied to works for the common advantage, on fortifications, on the expenses of war; and that our lieutenant may be the better aided in the said enterprise, power is given him to seek the assistance of, and enlist in the army, all gentlemen, merchants and others, our subjects, in person or by representative, who wish to take part in the said voyage, to pay for crews or equipments, and to furnish ships at their own expense. But what we do forbid in express terms is that they trade without the knowledge or consent of our said lieutenant, under penalty of forfeiture of their goods and vessels on discovery of their crime." The commission was signed by Henry IV. on the 12th of January, 1598. No benefit accrued to de la Roche or any of his associates from these magnificent concessions and high-sounding titles, but the document defines the lines on

which statesmen had already determined to establish a colonial system. The intention of the Crown was to relieve itself of the risk and expense of colonization by offering tempting commercial terms together with governmental powers to the adventurers, and then to repeat in the colonies the administrative and land systems of the mother country. Not the remotest suggestion occurs of conferring even a shadowy semblance of self-government on the colonies. Lescarbot in the dedication of his charming "*Histoire de la Nouvelle France*" to Louis XIII. in 1612, refers in a half-concealed vein of sarcasm to the methods pursued by France when he says: "There are two motives which ordinarily induce Kings to engage in conquest—zeal for the glory of God, and desire for the increase of their own glory and grandeur. Our kings, your predecessors, were long ago induced, under this double stimulus, to extend the bounds of their realm, and to create at little cost to themselves, but by means both just and legitimate, new empires to be henceforth subject to them." What Lescarbot describes as the system practised by Francis I., Henry III., and Henry IV., was continued by Louis XIII. and Louis XIV.

The next concession is that made by Henry IV. to *Sieur de Monts*. This document has also been preserved by Lescarbot, who sees in *de Monts*' plan another expedient for founding a stable colony in lands beyond the sea, without drawing on His Majesty's coffers. The preamble, as usual, recites the religious motive which actuates the King, the commercial advantages which will accrue from taking possession of *La Cadie*, and trading with its people, and the reasons for appointing *Sieur de Monts* the King's lieutenant over the territory between the 40th and 46th degrees North Latitude. Then follows a recital of the ample powers delegated to *De Monts* in peace and in war, and instructions as to the cultivation of the land and the exploitation of the mines, from which the King reserves a tithe of gold, silver and copper. He is instructed to build forts at once and garrison them, and to expel from his domain all vagrants and vagabonds, and to perform a multitude of acts which might safely have been left to the future and to his discretion to do or not to do. The original concession signed at Fontainebleau on Nov. 8th, 1603, seems, however, to have

omitted the most important provision, namely, the consideration. This is embodied in a supplementary document, signed in Paris by Henry IV. on the 18th of December of the same year. After reciting the tenor of the previous concession, he adds: "To facilitate the enterprise, and aid those who are associated with him, and afford them some mode and means for meeting the expense, we have thought it fit to concede and guarantee to them, that none of our subjects, except those who join with him in sharing the cost, will be permitted to trade for furs or other merchandise during a period of ten years, in the lands, harbors, rivers and routes of approach throughout the extent of the country under his control. This we command." Then follows the authority to enforce the exclusive concession granted for ten years for the trade in furs and other things with the Indians from Cape Race to the 40th degree of North Latitude, including all the coast of Acadia, Cape Breton, the Bay of St. Clair and Chaleur, the Island of Percé, Gaspé, Tadousac and both banks of the River of Canada, and all the rivers and bays on either side. The penalty for infringement of the concession and disobedience to the edict, is confiscation of vessels, stores, arms and cargo for the benefit of de Monts and his associates, and a fine of 30,000 livres; and de Monts is empowered to seize all trespassers and their property, and to deliver them for trial to the proper authorities. In addition to these trade monopolies, Henry, by Patent dated the 8th of February, 1609, grants de Monts exemption from certain import duties. The Patent explained that certain officers have obliged de Monts and his associates to pay the same import dues on merchandise when coming from New France as are levied on the same goods imported from Spain and other foreign countries, and have even levied additional dues on de Monts' goods when passing from province to province in France. An instance is quoted of twenty-two bales of beaver skins seized for duty at Coudre sur Narreau. To avoid in future such impediment to de Monts' operations, it is ordered that merchandise imported from Acadia, Canada and other localities within his jurisdiction, shall not pay a heavier subsidy than the entry dues, and those payable ordinarily on goods passing from one province to another in France, and which are products of the

same, and the decree orders the restitution of the twenty-two bales that had been seized.

The ill-starred adventures of de Monts and his associates in Acadia and on the coast of Maine have already been referred to, and we have mentioned how he was induced by Champlain to turn his attention to the Upper St. Lawrence, as a better field for colonization and trade. The trading privileges were cancelled at the instigation of the merchants of St. Malo after he had enjoyed them for three years. The grounds of their protest were, that, owing to de Monts' monopoly, the price of beaver skins had risen; that the freedom of trade was forbidden in regions which had been open to the merchants of northern France from time immemorial; and, as a crowning argument, that de Monts had been for three years enjoying trade privileges, and had made no converts to Christianity. One would not suppose a suggestion of this nature would have carried much weight, coming as it did from money-making merchants, who had been for a full century in contact with the Indians of Labrador and Newfoundland, without giving thought to, or spending a livre on, the spiritual advancement of the natives. But any argument is good enough to support a foregone conclusion. Nevertheless, on the representation to the King by Lescarbot and others of de Monts' friends, of all that the latter had done, His Majesty in 1607 renewed the privileges of exclusive traffic in beaver skins for one year. Lescarbot may well say "this was surely but a weak foundation on which to build a great project, and little time was allowed." A great project it proved to be, for, as we have seen, Quebec was founded within the year.

Though France took the lead as a North American colonizer, England followed close on her track. She created in 1606 two companies whose representatives and successors were to exercise an incalculable influence over the destinies of mankind,—the South Virginia, or London Company, and the Company of Plymouth Adventurers. Neither was the actual corporation under which the Northern and Southern English colonies subsequently held title, nor were they really the first corporate bodies which tried, under English auspices, the experiment of combining trade

and colonization on the East coast of North America. They were the offspring of the heroic but futile efforts made by Raleigh and his lieutenant in the previous century, to found a colony in Virginia. The provisions of the Charter granted Sir Walter in 1583-1584, expressed conclusively the spirit which even then guided England in her colonization schemes. The Charter grants to the colonists "all the privileges of free denizens and persons native of England, in such ample manner as if they were born and personally resident in our said Realm of England." And they were to be governed according to such statutes as shall be by him or them established, provided they do not contradict the law of the Realm. The same principles and powers underlie the constitutions of all the subsequent colonies. The contrast between these simple and liberal charters and the concessions, edicts, and ordinances, under which the neighboring French colony was governed, accounts for the opposite course followed by the respective nations from their birth until to-day.

The colonization of both Virginia and Massachusetts was undertaken by trading companies, but the policy of these companies, however mistaken in many respects, was widely different from the purely selfish objects of the French companies. Moreover, they were popular in every sense, for the reorganized London Company enrolled as its shareholders 659 individuals and 56 trade guilds.

Holland did not escape the epidemic of colonial expansion, but her only attempt to gain a footing on the North American continent was fated to have very slight results, for it is difficult to trace the impression made by the Dutch, except in the nomenclature of localities. It was in 1609 that the United Netherland Company landed a shipload of Walloons, and founded a port and factory at the mouth of the Hudson. England had claimed the territory by right of discovery, and had ceded it to one of the two companies which she had chartered three years previously. But the Dutchmen remained on the Hudson and the Mohawk until 1664.

In their dealing with the Iroquois, whose hankering for fire-arms they were only too willing to gratify, the Dutch settlers

troubled their neighbors of New France and France's Indian allies not a little; while the trade and land regulations of New Netherland were almost as liberal as those of France. Holland cannot be said, therefore, to have created an independent phase of North American colonization, or to have left the impress of her institutions on the rising communities of the Continent,

CHAPTER V.

Quebec as a Trading Post Under de Monts' Company and Under Free Trade.

Champlain showed keen insight when he selected as the seat of empire the cliffs overhanging the narrow stretch of the mighty river, the most defensible site from a military point of view, and the best fitted by nature both as a port and as a center of trade. In a few sentences Champlain tells how they spent the first summer at Quebec. "The Island of Orleans is distant from Quebec but a league. On arrival I went in search of a spot for our house. I could find none more suitable or better situated than the part of the Promontory of Quebec, so called by the Indians. A forest of birch trees and vines covered it. At once, therefore, I set some men to felling the trees, others to sawing planks, others to excavating for the cellar and digging a trench, and part I sent back to Tadousac for those of our comrades who had been left behind and for the stores. My first care was to build a house within which to store our provisions. This was promptly and competently done through the activity of my men, and under my own supervision. Near by is the St. Croix River where of yore Cartier spent a winter. While carpenters toiled, and other mechanics were at work on the house, the others were busy making a clearance about our future abode; for as the land seemed fertile, I was anxious to plant a garden and determine whether wheat and other cereals could not be grown to advantage." Champlain, in his edition of 1613, gives both a picture of the habitation and a map of the harbor. He seems to place his residence on the extreme point of the jutting promontory, between the St. Lawrence and the St. Charles, and therefore on the beach where St. Peter and St. Paul streets now meet. The beach was narrow and the cliffs rose sheer above it. There is not at present, nor can there have been then, any ledge above the high tide level on which to



Statue of Champlain on the Site of his Fort.

erect a dwelling, safe from the ice, which must have piled up high against the cliff during the winter. The site generally assigned to the *habitation*, namely, between the old *cul de sac* and the foot of the ravine (now Mountain street) leading to the summit of the cliff, or about where the Church of Notre Dame de la Victoire stands, is, therefore, the more probable location. When Champlain is arguing for the St. Charles, which he calls La Petite Rivière, as we still call it, as being the scene of Cartier's first winter quarters, he mentions that the shallows of that stream are 1,500 feet from his habitation, which he says is further up the river, meaning doubtless the St. Lawrence. This would confirm the traditional site of the habitation. Champlain designates a point B. as that where they cleared away the forest to plant corn. It is the level ground occupied by the Ursuline Convent and Garden, which was, we may suppose, selected on account of its good soil by both the explorers, and approved of for the same reason by the good Sisterhood. Another point, G., would seem to indicate the place where they cut grass for their animals, and where, probably, there were natural meadows or some old clearings. It is on the slope of the second hill from the Garden, G., and therefore where the glacis of the citadel has now been graded. The old Iroquois town of Stadacona perhaps stood there, and only brushwood had grown up over the open space occupied by their lodges and the cultivated field of Donnecana's tribe.

Hardly had the work of building commenced when their blacksmith, one Jean Duval, began to hatch a scheme to kill Champlain, seize the property, and turn it over on behalf of Spain to the Basque or Spanish fishermen at Tadousac, or more probably to use it for piratical purposes. Duval enlisted four of his companions in the conspiracy, but they hesitated so long as to the best manner of dispatching Champlain that one of the ships arrived from Tadousac, and a conspirator, Antoine Natel, confided the whole plot to the Captain. At Champlain's suggestion the conspirators were induced to go on board the ship to a convivial gathering, and were then arrested. As there was no prison in Quebec, and as their presence there would interfere with the progress of the *habitation*, he took them to Tadousac and handed

them over to the charge of Pontgravé, he himself returning at once to Quebec. Pontgravé followed with the prisoners, Champlain having wisely concluded that the trial and execution should take place at the scene of the conspiracy itself. For the trial of the captives he created a tribunal, consisting of himself, Pontgravé, the doctor, the captain, the mate and some of the sailors. The verdict was death. The sentence was carried out in the case of Duval, who was hanged and whose head was afterwards exposed on the highest pinnacle of the *habitation* as a warning. The carrying out of the sentence was suspended in the case of the accomplices, who were sent to France to be dealt with by de Monts, or as the law might dictate. It was a sad introduction to Champlain's administration, and may have awakened in him gloomy forebodings; but happily the subsequent story of his rule, and the whole history of the City, have not justified any misgiving which may have oppressed him; for the French population of Quebec may well be proud of its comparative freedom from crime. On Sept. 18th Pontgravé sailed for France with three prisoners—of the five Duval had been hanged; the informer, it may be assumed, was pardoned. The residence had not yet been completed, and cold weather was approaching, so there must have been intense activity, not only in building but in laying stores against the winter. There were Indians camped near by, probably around the point on the St. Charles Basin, engaged in catching eels, between the middle of September and the middle of October. Cartier says that smoked eel was their principal food till February, when they started on their moose hunting expeditions; whoever, therefore, the Indians were that succeeded Donnecana's tribe, they looked to the same source of supply.

Champlain describes the *habitation*, and depicts it in his rough drawing, as consisting of three separate houses, joined together. Each was three toises (18 feet) long by two and a half (15 feet) wide. In the courtyard was erected a store house, and over it a watch tower, which he styled a *colombière*; a gallery on a level with the roof of the store house surrounded the three houses, and gave access to their second stories. On an esplanade in front of one or both sides, were mounted five cannon, and further protec-



Champlain's First Battle with the Iroquois.
Champlain, Edition of 1613.



Champlain's Habitation. Champlain, Edition of 1613.

tion was afforded by the palisade and a ditch sixteen feet wide and six feet deep. Champlain's *habitation* was dear to him, and he continued to add to it; for when Father Sagard arrived in Canada on the eve of the Feast of Saint Peter and Saint Paul in 1623, he found it to be a "really fine house, surrounded by a strong wall, surmounted, landward, by two small towers built as a precaution;" but he adds that, "despite these precautions for safety, it would not be difficult to take the place by storm, even without the aid of artillery."

Lescarbot tells us that twenty-eight men remained to winter at Quebec. Champlain did not let this first season pass without commencing his agricultural experiments, for on the first of October he sowed wheat, and on the 15th, rye, and on the 24th planted some grape vines. Beyond this advertisement of his desire to test the farming capabilities of the country, he records only the principal meteorological events of the season. On the 13th of October there was a white frost, and the leaves were falling on the 15th. On November 18th snow fell in quantity, but it thawed in a couple of days. A furious snowstorm set in on February 5th, which lasted for forty-eight hours. In February the locksmith died of dysentery, brought on, as Champlain thought, by eating too freely of smoked eels. Lescarbot tells a doleful tale of the suffering of the residents. According to him they could not find Cartier's remedy, the anedda. We can only suppose that they could not identify it themselves, and that the native race who were in occupation in Cartier's time having disappeared, there was no one to point it out to them. With no provision made against scurvy, and no amusement to drive away homesickness, the plight of the little band was hardly less pitiable than that of Cartier's crew on the neighboring St. Charles in the previous century. What they lacked was fresh meat and vegetables, for they had bread enough to dole out even in charity to a family of starving Micmacs, who, rather than die of hunger, risked crossing from the south shore on the floating ice. The poor wretches, to the horror of the French, were driven to sustain life by eating the decayed carrion with which the fox traps were baited.

And so the winter wore away. Spring was early, for the snow had melted by the 8th of April; but the cold continued, and the trees did not bud until well on in May. With the advent of Spring and vegetation, and presumably fresh fish, scurvy, which Champlain supposed to be a *maladie de la terre*, disappeared. So utterly ignorant was he of the aetiology of the disease, that, in quoting the instance of an Indian who died of it from eating salt meat, he concludes that salt meat is not a remedy. On second thought he wonders whether it is not perhaps the cause. He may have acted on this hypothesis, as during the following three winters the health of his post seems to have been excellent. On the 5th of June, 1609, when the Sieur des Marais, son-in-law of Pontgravé, arrived from France, he found only eight haggard representatives of the twenty-eight hearty men whom Pontgravé had left to face the rigor of the winter, and of these eight, Champlain says, one-half were ill. Des Marais had parted from his father-in-law at Tadousac, whither Champlain at once went. After consultation, it was decided that Champlain should fulfill the promise made the summer previous, to accompany the Montagnais and the Hurons on a warlike expedition against the Iroquois. He therefore lost no time in returning to Quebec, equipping a chaloupe, and starting up the river. At a league and a half above the river of Sainte Anne de la Pérade, he met between two and three hundred Indians, Algonquins and Hurons, coming to claim the execution of his pledge. Then followed a long pow wow, and a return to Quebec with his Indian allies in his trail, where for three days there was dancing and feasting, with renewed promises of fidelity and of aid on both sides.

What happened in this raid against the Iroquois affected most intimately and most momentously the fortunes of Quebec, for it determined the attitude of the French as friends of one section of the Indian population of the continent, and as enemies of another, and that the most powerful of all. It is not unlikely that it also embittered the relations of the Indian to the European over the whole North American continent, for there had been previously little animosity between the Indians and the French in Acadia. It made what might have been the peaceful trading post

of Quebec a center of almost constant hostile preparation, and converted the future Province into a military colony, where military considerations were always uppermost, and the pursuit of trade and commerce was held in smaller esteem than the profession of arms. A further effect was to aggravate the inimical feeling between the French colonists and the English, converting mere dislike, arising out of commercial rivalries, into hatred and suspicion. Champlain's active alliance with the enemies of the Iroquois, both of the Algonquin and the Huron stock, and the inauguration of his governorship by an act of war, gave direction to the whole policy of France in the New World. What his motive was has been a subject of endless speculation. Perhaps he acted merely from impulse, not from policy. Every Spanish explorer had been a conqueror. Champlain had served his apprenticeship under Spanish and Portuguese leaders. He was a Frenchman in an age when France was always at war, and when war was regarded as the only calling becoming a gentleman. If he had a policy, it was dictated by considerations of trade. He had advised de Monts and Madame de Guercheville to devote their energies and funds to the development of the interior of the Continent, where they might expect to be beyond the reach of English interference and encroachment. He had done this when the Jamestown settlement was in its infancy, and, under Ralph Lane, threatened with the untimely fate of Sir Walter Raleigh's Roanoke Company, and before Argall had so ruthlessly harried the French posts on the coast of Maine and Nova Scotia. But he appreciated the indomitable and pushing character of the English, and may have apprehended that they would sooner or later be the dominant power on the Atlantic seaboard. If so, some line of demarcation would necessarily have to be drawn, and a sphere of influence, if not of possession, prescribed within which the merchants of the rival nations might trade. Such a line would naturally be the Upper St. Lawrence and the Lakes, whose existence he knew of, though he dreamed not of their extent. He was the agent of a trading company, and the commercial interests of his company were rightly his first concern. If he enlisted on the side of the company a powerful tribe to the north of the

Lakes, and also the enemies of the Iroquois in the interior of the Acadian Peninsula, he would monopolize the furs of his allies and secure the trade of the vast interior, the illimitable extent of which, as described by the natives, must have set his imagination aglow. Should the English occupy the coast, let them ally themselves, if they would, with the Five Nations, and get what profit they could out of the fringe of territory between the Atlantic and the Lakes. He and his company, controlling the trade of the interior, would not begrudge it to them. He may not have formulated the forecast in so many words, but dreams of empire haunt the waking and sleeping thoughts of empire builders, and prescience akin to inspiration directs their plans. Moreover, the less precise the geographical knowledge of such a pioneer as Champlain, and the slighter his acquaintance with the limits of trade, the wider the scope for the play of his imagination.

Whatever his motives may have been, the war on which he so lightly entered was still in progress when France—a century and a half later—retired from the Great River and the Lakes. The details of this interminable struggle, with all its picturesque but horrible interest, it will not be our province to describe; but as Quebec was the base of French warlike operations, we shall again and again see the motley host clustered there for the fray. To fight the first battle there went some three hundred savages in their canoes, and Champlain, Pontgravé's son-in-law, Des Marais, Laroutte, the pilot, and nine men, in one of the shallops. Pontgravé accompanied them as far as the River of St. Croix. A number of the Indians deserted at the mouth of the Richelieu. Champlain was obliged to send back all but two volunteers with the shallop, from the foot of the Chambly Rapids, so that when they all embarked in twenty-four canoes above the Rapids, there were with the three Frenchmen only fifty-six Indians. They met a band of the enemy on the warpath on the shores of Lake Champlain, which appropriately derives its name from its discoverer. The Iroquois fled before the deadly fire of the three Spanish arquebuses, loaded with four balls to a charge. It was their first experience of fire-arms. Yet before they themselves had acquired them, and learned their use, they had dis-



Les chiffres montrent les brasses d'eau.

A Le lieu où l'habitation est bâtie (1).
B Terre defrichée où l'on sème du bled & autres grains (2).
C Les jardinages (3).
D Petit ruisseau qui vient de dedans des marécages (4).
E Rivière (5) où hiverna Jacques Quartier, qui de son temps la nomma sainte Croix, que l'on a transféré à 15. lieues au-dessus de Quebec.

F Ruisseau des marais (6).
G Le lieu où l'on amassoit les herbages pour le bétail que l'on y avoit mené (7).
H Le grand saut de Montmorency qui descend de plus de 25. brasses de haut dans la rivière (8).
I Bout de l'île d'Orléans.
L Pointe fort étroite (9) du côté de l'orient de Quebecq.
M Rivière bruyante, qui va aux Eto-

chemains.
N La grande rivière S. Laurens.
O Lac de la rivière bruyante.
P Montaignes qui sont dans les terres, baye que j'ay nommée la nouvelle Biquaye.
Q Lac du grand saut de Montmorency (10).
R Ruisseau de lours (11).
S Ruisseau du Gendre (12).
T Prairies qui sont inondées des eaux

à toutes les marées.
V Mont du Gas (13) fort haut, sur le bord de la rivière.
X Ruisseau courant, propre à faire toutes sortes de moulins.
Y Côte de gravier, où il se trouve quantité de diamants vn peu meilleurs que ceux d'Alanson.
Z La pointe aux diamants.
9 (14) Lieux où fouvent cabannent les faunages.

(1) C'est là proprement la pointe de Québec, qui comprenait l'espace renfermé aujourd'hui entre la Place, la rue Notre-Dame et le fleuve. — (2) Ce premier défrichement a dû être ce qu'on a appelé plus tard l'Esplanade du fort, ou la Grand-Place, ou peut-être l'un et l'autre. La Grand-Place devint en 1658 le fort des Hurons; c'était l'espace compris entre la Côte de la basse ville et la rue du Fort. — (3) Un peu au-dessus des jardinages, sur le penchant de la côte du Saut-au-Matelot, on distingue une croix, qui semble indiquer que dès lors le cimetière était où on le trouve quelques années après mentionné pour la première fois. — (4) D'après les anciens plans de Québec, ces marécages auraient été à l'ouest du Mont-Carmel et au pied des glaces de la Citadelle. Le ruisseau venait passer à l'est du terrain des Ursulines et des Jésuites, suivait quelque temps la rue de la Fabrique, jusqu'à la clôture de l'Hôtel-Dieu, à l'est de laquelle il se jetait en bas du coteau vers le pied de la côte de la Canoterie. — (5) La rivière Saint-Charles. La lettre E n'indique pas précisément le lieu où hiverna Jacques Cartier, mais seulement l'embouchure de la rivière (voir p. 156). — (6) A en juger par les contours du rivage, ce ruisseau, qui venait du sud-ouest, se jetait dans le havre du Palais, vers l'extrémité ouest du Parc. — (7) C'est probablement ce qu'on appela plus tard la grange de Messieurs de la Compagnie, ou simplement la Grange, qui paraît avoir été quelque part sur l'allée du Mont-Carmel. — (8) Le saut Montmorency a 40 brasses de haut, ou 140 pieds français, et même davantage. — (9) On voit qu'en 1613, cette pointe n'avait pas encore de nom; en 1629, Champlain l'appelle cap de Lévis; on peut donc conclure que cette pointe tire son nom de celui du duc de Ventadour, Henri de Lévis, et qu'elle dut être ainsi appelée entre les années 1625 et 1627, époque où il fut vice-roi. — (10) Le lac des Neiges est la source de la branche ouest de la rivière du Saut. — (11) La rivière de Beauport, qu'on appelle aussi la Distillerie. — (12) Appelé plus tard ruisseau de la Cabane-aux-Taupiers, rivière Chalifour, et enfin rivière des Pou, à cause du nouvel asile des Allénés, sur l'emplacement duquel il passe aujourd'hui. — (13) Élévation où est maintenant le bastion du Roi à la Citadelle. Ce nom lui fut donné sans doute en souvenir de M. de Monts, Pierre du Gas. — (14) Ce chiffre se retrouve non-seulement à la pointe du cap Diamant, mais encore le long de la côte de Beauport et au bout de l'île d'Orléans.

Map of the Environs of Quebec. From Champlain, Edition of 1613.

covered that numbers could successfully face even powder and shot. But on this the first encounter, the terror of these strange beings and their mysterious, murderous weapons, quenched the courage of these the bravest of the Indian braves. In the suggestive drawings with which Champlain illustrates his narrative, he always depicts his men in full panoply of war, with helmet and steel cuirass, he himself being distinguished by the plume in his hat. In reality they probably did wear armor of some kind. On the evening of the victory Champlain witnessed for the first time one of the peculiar horrors of Indian warfare—the torture of a prisoner; and, being a chivalrous man, the terrible spectacle must have made him reflect on the incongruity of fighting side by side with such allies—whether aiding them in their quarrels, or receiving their aid in his. Barbarous as war is at the best, its brutality was displayed in all its most revolting features in Indian hostilities; and though Champlain probably did not fully realize the crime he was committing in setting the example of enlisting savages as his allies in war, the abominable spectacle must have excited in his mind a serious feeling of disquietude. As a consequence of his action the Iroquois sought the friendship of the Dutch and the English, and became their allies. But, apart from the direct results of such iniquitous coalitions, the fact that the white man was willing to embroil himself in their quarrels and use his weapons at their dictation, on one side or the other, must have done more to make them objects of suspicion and dread than their aggressiveness as traders and colonists.

It was not until 1622 that the first terrible massacre of the Indians was perpetrated in Virginia, and it was fourteen years later before the Pequod war broke out in New England. It would be unfair to trace back either calamity to Champlain's alliance with the Hurons, Algonquins, and Montagnais; but had he held aloof from all participation in aboriginal politics and quarrels, and exercised toward all alike that forbearance, tact and sympathy with Indian habits and tastes which made the French so much more successful and humane in their treatment of the aborigines than the Anglo-Saxon, there would not have been any direct incentive towards the alliance of the Iroquois and the English. On

the contrary, the example of the French would have been conducive to friendly relations between Europeans and the whole native population of the American continent.

On the return from Lake Champlain the Hurons and Algonquins left the army at the Chambly Rapids, after making the most profound protestations of friendship, and begging Champlain to visit their land and treat them as brothers, which he promised to do. The Montagnais, who stayed at Quebec only long enough to regale themselves on bread and peas, persuaded Champlain to give them *patenôtres* (chaplets) with which to adorn the decapitated heads of their enemies. With these mounted on poles, and decorating the bows of their canoes, they approached Tadousac. As an acknowledgment of their indebtedness, and a pledge of friendship, they graciously sent him the head and arms of one of their unfortunate foes. These Champlain presented to the King—a more appropriate offering than either the donor or the receiver was aware of, considering the later consequences of the summer's work. The gift, however, did not shock the King, who accepted it as an emblem of the habits of his new subjects.

After Champlain's return to Quebec a large band of Algonquins moved down the river, expressing themselves as full of regret that they had been too late to take part in the discomfiture of their enemies, and presenting in token of their gratitude a more acceptable present than heads and arms—a gift of furs. Shortly afterward Champlain proceeded to the post at Tadousac, where, after Pontgravé had joined him, they both decided to return to France. They must have been anxious to know whether Henry IV. had been induced, in spite of the protest of the Malouins, to renew de Monts' trading privileges. They decided to put the Quebec post in charge of Captain Pierre Chavin of Rouen, and to leave with him fifteen men, all provision having been made for their welfare, and the store stocked with more suitable food than on previous occasions. Owing doubtless to this circumstance, the health of the sixteen was unimpaired in the following Spring. Champlain and Pontgravé took a boat to Tadousac on the 1st of September, and set sail thence for France.

Not a word is said in either of Champlain's narratives as to the

financial results of the year's work, secrecy then, as now, being one of the maxims of trade. On their arrival, both went to the Company's headquarters at Rouen to consult de Monts' partners, Collier and Gendre, before reporting to de Monts himself. Then Champlain, at an audience with the King, described his adventures and presented his Majesty with a girdle embroidered with porcupine quills. They determined to maintain their Quebec establishment, and to continue the exploitation of the Great River under the guidance of Champlain in alliance with the Hurons. It was therefore decided to send Pontgravé to Tadoussac, and he was commissioned to lay in a cargo consisting in part of merchandise for barter and in part of provisions. In return for undertaking and preparing to explore the Great River and open channels of trade never before tapped, de Monts claimed a new concession, his old having expired a twelvemonth ago; but the petition was rejected. Though the refusal to renew de Monts' privileges may have been forced on Henry by the necessity for propitiating the merchants of Normandy and Brittany, and though it must have jarred on his good nature to deny a request to one so conspicuous for public spirit and public services, he did not, in so doing, contradict his principles. There are traceable in Henry's schemes the germs of a freer trade policy than has even yet found acceptance in France. To close the St. Lawrence to all the world save a company of greedy traders would naturally be repugnant to the mind of the monarch who agreed to Article IV. of the Treaty with Sultan Achmet I., "that all the nations of Europe, the English included, should trade freely in the Levant under the flag and the protection of France, and under the direction of the counsel of France."

But although de Monts' petition was refused, he and his associates bravely determined to carry out their plans, and Champlain and Pontgravé sailed away from Honfleur. During his winter in France Champlain seems again to have endeavored to induce Madame de Guercheville to enlist in his schemes, but with no better success than formerly. His ships carried provisions sufficient to maintain the little colony for another winter, artisans to extend it, and merchandise for traffic. But contrary

winds having driven him into an English port, he returned to France, and it was the 8th of April before he finally set sail for the Colony. He made a short voyage, and arrived in Tadousac on the 27th of April, but, quick as he had been, the unchartered traders had already preceded him. Here he found the Montagnais Indians eager for traffic, but still more eager to enlist him in their wars; and he made a one-sided promise to accompany them in the following year on an expedition to a great sea whose further shore you could not see—evidently, either the Hudson Bay, or Lake Mistassini. But Champlain's immediate object was to accompany the Hurons to their home on the Georgian Bay and fight with them against the Iroquois. As he says, "he rejoiced at having two strings to his bow, for if one snapped, he could play upon the other."

The young *Sieur Pierre du Parc* had come down from Quebec and relieved his anxiety as to the welfare of his comrades. The winter had been mild and short. They seldom lacked fresh meat, and though there had been some sickness, all were well again. He had learned, as he says, that with health and fresh food, life could be preserved as well in Canada as in France during the long winter months. He left Tadousac after only a two days' rest, and reaching Quebec found his little colony of fifteen under *Pierre Chavin* all alive and in good health, as reported. A chief called *Batiscan* with his band of savages was there ready to welcome him with songs and dances. They were speedily joined by sixty Montagnais, willing to aid him if he would aid them with his arquebuses against their foes. He was now a competitive trader, and he tells us how he cajoled the wily savages. "They said, 'See how many Basques and Malouins there are here now, and they all offer to be our allies and to fight for us. What do you think? Speak the truth.' 'No, they won't,' I answered, and I pointed out that their only object was to wheedle them out of their furs. The Indians were convinced and said, 'You speak truly. They are nothing but women and only want to make war upon our beavers.' They made some other jokes and talked over their plans for making war. They agreed to leave and await me at Three Rivers, thirty leagues above Quebec, where I promised to

join them with four boatloads of merchandise to be exchanged for their peltries, and for those of the Hurons, who were to join us with 400 warriors at the mouth of the Richelieu, as had been agreed upon the year before." To what degree the expiry of de Monts' concession had induced Champlain the year before (1609) to join the Hurons and some of the Algonquin tribes in their war upon the Iroquois, as a means of cementing friendly trade relations, it is not easy to determine; but we see clearly from his journal, that he considers that the strongest weapon he could now wield against his French rivals in business was an offensive and defensive alliance with the enemies of the Iroquois. Do what he might, however, the competition was sharp and ruinous, for Lescarbot, after quoting other reasons which the merchants of St. Malo used against de Monts' concession, says, "I am not retained to defend his cause, but this I do know, that to-day, with trade free, beaver skins sell at twice the price to the Indians which they formerly did, for the greed of the merchants is so uncontrollable that, in bidding against one another, they spoil their own game. Eight years ago a beaver skin could be had for a couple of loaves or a knife, but to-day an Indian demands fifteen or twenty. And, in this year of grace 1610, there are traders who have given all their goods gratuitously to the savages simply to hurt the trade of the Sieur de Poutrincourt (Sieur de Monts' old partner in Acadia). Such is the envy and avarice of men."

The summer was spent, as was the last, in war against the Iroquois. Ascending the river Champlain was joined by the Montagnais at Three Rivers. While they and some of the rival traders were camped at the mouth of the Richelieu, an Algonquin canoe arrived and warned him that the Iroquois to the number of one hundred were strongly barricaded in the neighborhood. Champlain and some of his men followed the Indians to the attack. The savages rushed impetuously ahead, and were being severely handled by the Iroquois when Champlain and his men came to their assistance. Before the fight closed, by the assault of the palisaded enclosure, a young trader from St. Malo, called Gibraire (Gabriel), one of his rivals, was moved by the sound of

battle to follow and engage in the fray. A complete rout ensued, and fifteen prisoners were taken. One was at his request given to Champlain; the others suffered, some of them at once, others subsequently at the hands of the squaws, the usual exquisite torture. Then trade succeeded war, and, as not infrequently happens, those who had been backward as warriors succeeded best as merchants. Champlain bemoans the fact that his rivals, who had risked nothing as explorers or as soldiers, nevertheless secured the bulk of the peltries.

Whether, on the whole, Champlain was as successful in trade as in war during that summer he does not tell, but, on arriving at Quebec, he decided to return with little delay to France. Pontgravé wished to winter in Quebec, but Champlain argued that, from appearances at the moment—by which we may presume he meant a scarcity or high price of skins—nothing would be gained by his remaining. He further urged that his testimony as to the effect on trade of the ruinous competition created by the Norman and Breton merchants, might aid his employers in pleading for a concession. The argument convinced Pontgravé and he consented to accompany his chief. When these questions were settled, Champlain says: "We resolved that Du Parc, who had wintered in Quebec with Captain Pierre, should be left in charge, and that Captain Pierre should return to France by reason of certain business which required his presence there. We therefore left Du Parc in command of sixteen men, whom we admonished to live wisely in the fear of God, to obey their chief and leader, Du Parc, as though he were ourselves. All of which they promised to do, and pledged themselves to abide in peace one with another." The garden was well stocked when they left early on August 15th, 1610, despairing evidently of gathering more furs by a longer stay on the river. How it befell the Tadousac post he does not tell, but probably ill, for de Monts' privilege, as we know, had expired, and trade on the St. Lawrence from the mouth to the Lakes being free, it had been, as usually happens, overdone. Champlain remarks with a certain ill-disguised satisfaction, on "the loss which a number of merchants had sustained, who had laid in great stores of merchandise and equipped a fleet

of vessels in the hope of doing a profitable traffic in furs"; adding that "their preparations were out of all proportion to the amount of trade, so that some of them will remember for many a day the ruin which overtook them here." The losses were probably not confined to his rivals.

What business arrangements were made during the winter of 1610-1611 we are not told. We know that no concessions were granted, but the old partnership between de Monts, Collier, and Poutrincourt was maintained. Before Champlain sailed in the spring he married the Demoiselle H  l  ne Boull  , a daughter of the *secr  taire de la chambre du roi* (secretary of the King's chamber). It was rather a contract of marriage than a marriage itself, for the girl was only a child of twelve. It is stated that by way of *dot* de Boull   extended material assistance to the Canadian schemes of de Monts and Champlain. De Boull   was a Huguenot. Whether it was a marriage or a betrothal, it did not detain him, for the lover set sail on the 1st of March. Being beset with ice, he did not reach Tadousac till the 13th of May. Snow covered the ground, but early as it was, and expeditious as he had been, three trading vessels had reached the Saguenay before him. They had gained nothing by haste, however, for the Indians, who had become masters of *finesse*, refused to trade till the whole fleet had arrived, and until, under the stimulus of many bidders, the price of their wares should rise. Leaving Pontgrav   at Tadousac to get what share he could of the trade, Champlain himself proceeded to Quebec. His Indian friends of the year before were there to welcome him. He had already acquired some knowledge of the Richelieu and Lake Champlain, and may have foreseen that the English would pre-empt what traffic there was with the Iroquois, and the seaboard tribes. He therefore looked toward the north and wished to explore, by way of the St. Maurice from Three Rivers, that vast country where the Saguenay Indians hunted, hoping to tap it at some inland point not so easily reached as was Tadousac by his rivals in trade. He therefore proposed such a summer voyage to his dusky ally, Batiscan, but his suggestion was met by an offer to guide him thither next year, not that summer. The Indian probably divined his motive, and was by no means in-

clined to further any scheme for monopolizing trade. There was at the post the agent of another company, "a young man from Rochelle named Trefort," who offered to accompany him on his summer expedition, but Champlain very naturally refused: he had his own plans and motives for the trip, and had no notion of being any one else's guide, especially if it were to his own prejudice; if the young man were bent on going, there were other companions for him to choose from; certainly he, Champlain, was not going to help him to find new paths for commerce. Clearly de Monts' rivals had followed him above Tadousac, and were not only watching every motion of his agents, but were inculcating dangerous precepts and suspicions in the minds of the Indians. Champlain therefore made haste to assemble his Huron allies at the rendezvous at the foot of the rapids near old Hochelaga, where the year before they had agreed to meet on the 20th of May. While waiting for them, he was joined on the 1st of June by Pontgravé, who had been unable to do anything at Tadousac. The buyers were too many, and the price of furs was probably higher than he had been accustomed to pay. But his rivals had been equally unfortunate, for a goodly company followed him up the river to compete with him there for trade. A few days afterward four or five more barks arrived, the owners of which had been unsuccessful at Tadousac.

At length the Hurons arrived, and with them the French lad whom Champlain had entrusted to them, and who in the interval had learned their language and appeared habited in native costume. On the other hand the Indians welcomed with joy the hostage whom they had delivered to Champlain in the previous summer, and who had returned from France with many a story of French greatness and of Champlain's influence. They testified their satisfaction by turning their back on the other traders, whose presence in such numbers had aroused their suspicion or their cupidity, and making a treaty with Champlain. In confirmation they gave him one hundred beaver skins, and subsequently traded for all they had, which was little. Then followed a nocturnal council in which Champlain took part, pledging his faith to aid them. The deliberations turned on the point as to whether they

should allow the boy of a certain rival French trader to winter with them, as Champlain's emissary had done the previous year. Champlain dare not avow his jealousy of his French brethren, lest he should weaken the Indians' fear of that little band of white faces isolated in a boundless wilderness; but he dexterously managed to frustrate his rival's scheme. Then came other bands of Indians from the distant lakes with a few beaver skins, whereupon fresh protestations of friendship and pledges of assistance were given, and another youth was assigned to the Hurons.

Thus passed the summer in the neighborhood of the Lake of the Two Mountains. Little actual business was done; not many beaver skins were obtained; but the prudent leader was gathering information; promoting a good understanding with the Indians who lived to the north of the river and the lakes; and weakening the influence of his French competitors in trade. In Quebec he saw to the repairs of the *habitation*; planted some rose trees; loaded a cargo of oak, which he hoped would prove acceptable in France for wainscoting; then paid a visit to the company's other trading post at Tadousac, where, after taking counsel with Pontgravé, he decided to return to France, which he did in the ship of a certain Captain Tibaut of Rochelle, presumably one of his rivals, nevertheless a friend, arriving at La Rochelle on September 10, 1611. He told de Monts the story of what had happened, of his plans for the future, of the treaty with the Hurons, involving a promise to help them in their wars if they would accord him preferences in trade; of the advantage this would give the society over their rivals, apart from the fact that a post on one of the great lakes, far above marine navigation, would be inaccessible to the casual trader. De Monts, with his habitual energy and courage, was ready to risk more, even though the past season had been so disastrous, and though the maintenance of the two posts at Tadousac and Quebec, and the founding of two others, one at Mont Royal and one in the country of the Hurons, would draw heavily on his pecuniary resources. His more prudent partners, however, did not share his enthusiasm, and refused to participate in the risk. Thereupon de Monts, nothing daunted, was proceeding to negotiate with them

as to the terms upon which they would be willing to sell out their interest in the *Habitation de Quebec*, when circumstances occurred—Champlain's narrative does not explain what they were—that obliged de Monts to change his mind, and to retire finally from the struggle which he had waged uninterruptedly against adverse fortune for twelve years, and from the heroic but futile attempt to found a new France in the New World on the basis of a narrow trade policy. Yet of all the pioneers of France in this New World of ours, none is more worthy of honorable recognition, and none has received it less than de Monts. His own personality has always been overshadowed by that of his more active associates, Poutrincourt, Champlain, even Pontgravé.

Champlain now steps forward as principal, not as a subordinate: as the lieutenant of the Prince de Condé, not as the mere manager of a mercantile company. But whatever his role, our eyes are riveted on him as the chief actor on the stage, one who never failed to play his part with energy and courage, if not always with judgment.

Upon the dissolution of the old company of de Monts, Collier and le Gendre, Champlain determined to carry on the enterprise himself, if he could command the means. He was the more impelled to persevere by the glowing report sent him from the lake country by some of the men who had accompanied a small Huron band up the Ottawa, and had met the main body of the Indians descending to the rendezvous. On returning, his messengers had found him gone; but his competitors were there, and tried to wean away his allies, who were naturally disheartened at his non-appearance and by reports of his death. His men had taken upon themselves, in his absence, to promise that in the following spring he would join them and wipe out their enemies. This pledge he determined to redeem. The objects of his special aversion, because probably his keenest rivals, were the merchants of St. Malo. The reason they alleged against privileged companies trading in the St. Lawrence, apart from the general principle, was that if the right to trade was to be confined to those who made discovery, then St. Malo, the birthplace of Jacques Cartier, should decidedly have the

CARTE
Des Environs de QUÉBEC
en la Nouvelle France



preference. Champlain found the argument so hard to answer that for once it ruffled his imperturbable good humor.

One reason why de Monts' partners hesitated to incur further risk may have been the altered status of the Protestants of France, to which body de Monts and probably his associates belonged. For the same reason it was politic on Champlain's part to seek support, not from merchants, but from a statesman of the Royal House; one who, commanding influence at court, could procure concessions when mere traders could not, and effectually resist the protests of merchants of provincial towns. Such a partner was Charles de Bourbon, the Count de Soissons. He, however, died on November 12, 1612, and his commission as governor was transferred by the Queen Regent to Henry de Bourbon, Prince of Condé. He appointed Champlain his lieutenant.

Up to this date Quebec had been a mere trading post, consisting of a single *habitation*, protected by a palisade like the Hudson Bay posts of the present day. Although it had entered the plans of de Monts to found a colony in the full sense of the term, the effort had evidently not been seriously made. The very short tenure of his slight concessions, and the refusal of a renewal, were cause enough to deter him from so costly an undertaking. Women and children were not sent out by him, nor yet were there any priests, who, despite the Huguenot proclivities of de Monts and his partners, would certainly have accompanied any band of permanent colonists; for Champlain, a Catholic himself, would not have led forth a body of Frenchmen with their families to live and die without the consolations of religion. The little band of laborers and mechanics, who occupied the *habitation* as de Monts' employees, found more or less occupation in supplying the post with meat by hunting and fishing; in lumbering; in boat and ship building; in cultivating the little garden; in traffic with the Indians, and in doing nothing, which is still the most congenial occupation of all such small communities isolated in the wilderness. We know the names of two only of these first inhabitants of Quebec—Captain Pierre Chavin, and Captain Du Parc. We know that one of them at any rate was not a permanent resident; the task of defending the post dur-

ing the long, weary winter was not a grateful one, and Champlain did not impose that duty on the same members of his crew year after year. It is true the house was comfortable; the climate was understood, and the season for fishing and the habits of the game, which, though not plentiful, was by no means scarce, had become known; consequently neither cold nor scarcity of fresh provisions, bred disease, not one death being reported after the first year's attack of scurvy. Nevertheless, the task of wintering in Quebec was not a pleasant one. The *habitation* as yet was probably the only house; for we are not led to suppose that the free traders from St. Malo and La Rochelle, though they watched Champlain's every movement and dogged his steps, built any permanent structure on the Quebec beach. Notwithstanding there had been three years of free trade, and the ships of their rival fleets came year after year in increasing numbers, there is no mention of their crews wintering on the river. On the contrary Champlain says "they exposed themselves to needless danger from the ice through their insatiate greed, and their haste to be first at the trading points."

Probably for four years there was actual freedom of trade on the St. Lawrence, for Champlain's commission as lieutenant of the Count de Soissons is dated in October, 1612, or more than a year after his return to France with Captain Tibaut of La Rochelle. During that year of disappointment and of anxiety while trying to organize a new company under his own control; and of revived, though interrupted hopes, when he succeeded first in interesting in his enterprise the powerful Charles de Bourbon, Governor of Dauphin and Normandy, and then the uncle of that nobleman, Henry of Bourbon, the Governor of Guyenne, the independent traders had undisputed control both of the lower and of the upper reaches of the river.

With the year 1612 passed the initial stage of the history of Quebec, for with the appointment of Henry of Condé as Governor and Lieutenant-General of New France, and Champlain as his lieutenant, the old trading privileges, though with a restricted area, were again granted. They do not appear in the concession of Charles of Bourbon, but in Charles' commission to Champlain,

dated October 15, 1612, authority is delegated him to pursue all trespassers within described limits. He is instructed, by peaceable means or by war, to bring the Indians to a knowledge of the true faith; but if possible to live in amity, and to trade with them. To that end he is to push discovery and exploration, but especially of the country above Quebec and of the rivers flowing into the upper St. Lawrence, in the hope of finding a route to China and the East Indies, and of discovering mines of gold and other metals. He is thus commissioned to do what only in our own generation has been accomplished. The commission proceeds—"and wherever the said Champlain shall find Frenchmen or men of other nations trading or holding any communication with the Indians at or above Quebec, which district is reserved by Her Majesty, the Queen Regent, he is authorized to seize these vessels, merchandise, and all their property, and to take the ships thus captured to France to one of the ports of Normandy, where they will be condemned by the proper tribunal." A compromise was thus established between Champlain and his rivals of St. Malo and La Rochelle. The river was to be open to free trade as high as Quebec. The old post of Tadousac, which had been frequented by merchants and sailors since the time of Jacques Cartier, was to remain open, but the country west of Quebec, which it was the intention of the new company to penetrate, and to which Champlain with justice laid claim, on the ground that he and his old associates had already risked much in exploring it, was to be closed to outside traders. Quebec would thus continue to be virtually a frontier post of the trading company, and, as we shall see, its growth was to be dwarfed by the swaddling clothes of trade restrictions and selfish trade regulations for many a year.

CHAPTER VI.

Canadian Adventurers Under the Prince of Condé and the Arrival of the Recollet Fathers, 1612-1618.

The second company of Quebec adventurers, though as strenuously bent on trade as its predecessor, was moved by a more determined spirit of colonization, and by a more sincere, though not very ardent, desire to Christianize the Indians. The very transitory concessions under which de Monts ventured to commence trading on the upper St. Lawrence in 1608, and the disastrous competition he had to meet after one year of protection had elapsed, did not encourage him to expend money on a colonization scheme which could not by any possibility redound to his profit. And it must be remembered that individually no Frenchmen then left the mother country—few do even yet—at their own risk and on their own initiative, to sink their fortune in the wilds of an unknown and barbarous land. Even English colonists of that date emigrated as members of an organization, as shareholders, for instance, in trading companies, such as that of Virginia, or as a congregation of worshippers, following their pastor and retaining their ecclesiastical identity. This was the case with some of the New England settlements. De Monts and his associates were Huguenots. In attempting to colonize Acadia he had made the unfortunate experiment of associating in the work of evangelization Roman Catholic priests with Protestant divines. He had found that they were more active in quarreling with one another than in converting the heathen, and he was not prompted, therefore, to repeat the attempt to mitigate the cold of a Canadian winter by the heat of ecclesiastical polemics. There was sure to be discord enough in the *habitation* without infusing the bitterness of religious controversy. Consequently he omitted from his crew all clergy, both Catholic and Reformed. There was no missionary spirit

among the Protestant communities of Europe, and least of all in France, where the whole energy of dissent was expended in the arduous task of propagating opinions and practices which were not in harmony with the taste of the masses, and in fighting with carnal weapons for liberty of conscience and political freedom; both of which would have followed sooner or later, had the reformers gained the upper hand and influenced the opinions of the whole of the French people. Worried by past failures and struggling with a difficult financial problem, de Monts took no other steps towards fulfilling the very religious aims assigned by the least religious of monarchs as the prime motive for striving—principally at other people's expense—to extend the domain of France. The King's professed object was the conversion of the savages. It would be presumptuous to assert that even Francis I., with all his moral obliquity, was not sincere in his desire to bring the blessings of Holy Church, which he had himself often found consolatory, within reach of the benighted heathen. De Monts and his associates, however, must have appreciated the utter impossibility of winning over the red man to the philosophy of Calvin, or of influencing his imagination by the bare and bald form of worship which the Huguenots had substituted for the impressive and highly dramatic ritual of Rome. Consequently, when Henry IV. died under the hand of the assassin, and they had lost his support, which was at least sympathetic, if not active, and which would certainly have protected them from injustice, the company, and even de Monts himself, probably decided that the true policy was to spend as little, and save as much as they honestly could, during the brief term of life that their enemies would allow to their organization. The political status of their successors, Charles of Bourbon, and, on his death, another Bourbon, Henry, Prince of Condé, both princes of the blood, was widely different. Nevertheless, the progress of colonization under the new organization was but little more rapid than under de Monts. In 1622 Champlain said the population of Quebec was only 50 persons, including women and children; by 1624 it had increased to 61; in 1626 to 65, and when in 1628 Louis Kirke captured Quebec the whole population, including a family

at Cap Tourmente, was between 55 and 60; though, if the priests and friars and the French to the number of 20 in the Huron country be included, the number of inhabitants in the whole of Canada must be reckoned at about 100. All these, not excepting the priests, were dependent for their support on the company. There was no inducement offered to casual self-supporting immigrants to establish themselves in the country.

When Champlain returned to Quebec in Pontgravé's ship on May 7, 1613, he had been absent for twenty-one months. For two winters, therefore, the little company of pioneers, which he found safe and sound, had been left to their own resources, unless possibly Pontgravé had visited them in the summer of 1612. They were not, however, without news of the outside world, for the skippers of St. Malo and La Rochelle had taken advantage of Champlain's detention in France to ingratiate themselves with the Indians, and to push their trade even with the remoter Ottawa and Huron tribes. It was the last year that they could traffic untrammelled, for, though the terms of the Association under the Prince of Condé permitted any merchant to be a member and to share in its trade, this provision did not satisfy the merchants of Rouen and St. Malo. It was probably limited by conditions that made the concession valueless, though the company would seem to have been constituted on the plan of the English Regulated Companies of the sixteenth century, which allowed any member to trade on his own account within the sphere of the company's operations. This concession was all the merchants could wring in the meantime out of the Government. Under it three vessels from Rouen, one from La Rochelle, and another from St. Malo were fitted out, one of the conditions being that the crew of each vessel should furnish four men to Champlain in the exploratory and predatory expedition which he had promised the Hurons to make into the country of the Iroquois. At this stage of progress the Parliament of Rouen interfered, forbidding the publication of the King's decree within the limits of its jurisdiction, as being an infringement of its prerogative, though, if Champlain's suspicions were correct, the action was taken at the instance of the merchants of St. Malo. The Parliament having been persuaded to withdraw its opposition,

Champlain's concession was published in all the ports of Normandy. There embarked with him a certain L'Ange, a Parisian and a poet, who, having just indited an ode to Champlain as a preface to his volume of travels published in the same year of 1613, was now bent on assisting his hero to discover the road to the Orient. In his apostrophe to Henry IV. he avers :

Si le ciel t'eut laissé plus long temps ici bas,
Tu nous eusse assemblé la France avec la Chine.

Had heaven but left thee longer here below,
France had been linked to China before now.

They arrived at Tadousac the 29th of April, by the same tide as the Sieur de Boyer of Rouen who had sailed before them, and who, we may presume, was one of the partners. The next day two vessels of St. Malo came into port, which had sailed before the Parliament of Rouen had permitted the King's commission and the concession of the company to be published in Normandie. The owners promised to respect the privilege granted to the company, but Champlain nevertheless lost no time in pushing on to Quebec. Even there he only tarried six days before ascending the river to Sault St. Louis, where he hoped to find Hurons willing to guide him into the interior. In this he was disappointed ; one band was awaiting him, but they had taken two prisoners, and must hurry home that their women might have the pleasure of torturing them. Another band descended the Ottawa with a paltry lot of furs, but they complained of ill-treatment at the hands of the French traders the year before, and would not accept Champlain's protestations of friendship and promise of aid as sincere. At length he secured two canoes and one Indian as a guide, with which to explore the Ottawa and verify the wonderful tales told by Nicolas de Vignau, the Frenchman who had wintered with the Indians in 1611-12, and who had seen with his own eyes the great north sea, perhaps the Hudson Bay. The summer was spent in exploring the Ottawa, and incidentally proving the said Nicolas de Vignau to be the most

impudent and consummate liar that Champlain had met for many a day. On returning to Sault St. Louis, or probably his quarters on the island of St. Helen, a spot of pleasant associations, as he named it after his wife, he was met by L'Ange, who told him of the arrival of the *Sieur de Maisonneuve*, with a passport from *Mons. le Prince*, as proof of membership, and three ships. Champlain had already warned the Indians against trading with unauthorized merchants, but on *Maisonneuve's* arrival he introduced him to the savages as a friend; and if he was the *Sieur Paul de Chomedey, Sieur de Maisonneuve*, who in 1641 helped to found Montreal, he was worthy of the title. The *Sieur de Maisonneuve* offering him a passage to France, two vessels were left at the Sault, till the Indians should return from the wars with, it was hoped, more peltries than they had yet produced. Champlain and L'Ange then dropped down the stream with their host, and, passing Quebec, reached Tadousac on the 6th of July. There they remained, either to trade or because the weather was unfavorable, until August 8, when they sailed for France.

Thus another year passed uneventfully over Quebec. As it was at the headwaters of free trade, many a captain of St. Malo and La Rochelle anchored in the stream in the hope of doing some business with the Indians; but Champlain and *Maisonneuve*, aided by *Sieur Georges* of Rochelle, *Sieur Boyer* of Rouen, and members of the company, stopped all descending traffic. We can imagine the angry protests of the disappointed competitors for the fur trade, as around their camp fires under the cliffs, groups of sailors and traders discussed their hardships with one another and with the residents.

Champlain spent, doubtless not unwillingly, well-nigh the whole of the next two years with his wife in France, though the troubles of the company fully occupied his time. He found it very difficult, as promoters of monopoly find it to-day, to persuade the advocates of competition that their interests and the public good are forwarded by a restrictive or protective policy. The merchants of La Rochelle, the stronghold of Huguenot independence, seemed to be most reluctant to join the association, and delayed so long in claiming their one-third, that the com-

pany was formed without them, and a one-half interest, instead of one-third, was assigned to the merchants of Rouen and St. Malo respectively. Finding themselves excluded, the traders of La Rochelle obtained from the Prince, by fraud—*par surpris*, as Champlain calls it—a license for one vessel, which, as he says, “was by the kind permission of God, wrecked near Tadousac.” The company confiscated its cargo, though the catastrophe did not happen within the sphere of their privileges; but as the court confirmed the confiscation, we may assume that the company acted within its rights. There is no reason for attributing the seizure to religious bigotry, as is done by Abbé Faillon.

Besides acquiring an extension of the franchise for his company to eleven years, and regulating the conduct of its affairs, Champlain took the first step towards converting his trading post of Quebec into a settled community, and really founding a colony, by making provision for religious instruction and civil administration. His patron, Charles of Bourbon, was an ardent Catholic prince, and Champlain adhered to the ancient faith, though most of the company’s supporters were Huguenots. No drastic measure had yet been proposed to exclude the Reformers either from participation in the affairs of the company or from becoming members of the colony, but Champlain’s recollections of de Monts’ attempt to introduce freedom of worship at Port Royal deterred him from making a similar experiment at Quebec. Yet while he determined to seek the services of a Roman Catholic organization, he selected a branch of the more tolerant Franciscan order in preference to Madame Guercheville’s advisers, the Jesuits, with whom his intercourse had probably not been altogether pleasant. Champlain commenced his inquiries in 1614, and was led to negotiate first with the papal nuncio, and then with the General of the Franciscans, through the Sieur Houel, secretary of the King, and Comptroller General of the Saline de Brouage. The General of the order, Père de Verger, hesitated for a time to embark on this new mission, and thus the sailing of the four Recollet missionaries was delayed until 1615. The men chosen were Father Denis Jamay, commissaire; Monsigneur Jean d’Olbeau, prefect, to be his successor

in case of death ; Joseph Le Caron, and Pacifique du Plessis. They sailed from Honfleur with Champlain himself in the "St. Etienne" of 315 tons burden, under command of Pontgravé, and landed at Tadousac on the 26th of May. Father d'Olbeau, in his eagerness to reach his mission, hurried forward alone in the first boat leaving for Quebec ; the others followed several days later, when Champlain had completed his preparations for his voyage to the Sault St. Louis. We may therefore infer that Tadousac was, even at this date, better supplied than the *habitation* at Quebec with boats and naval stores.

With the advent of the priests at Quebec, the character of the future colony was determined. Though the majority of the company's financial supporters may have been Huguenots, the colony was to be exclusively under Roman Catholic control in matters ecclesiastical and theological. Coligny's hopes of forming colonies in Brazil and Florida, where men might worship God as their consciences, not the church and the State, might dictate, had been frustrated. When Henry IV., with his Protestant education and liberal proclivities, had fallen a victim to the assassin, it was a foregone conclusion that the concessions to Reform, made by the Edict of Nantes, would at least not be enlarged, and that consequently Huguenot immigration and commercial enterprise would not be encouraged in the French colonies. Furthermore, at a later period, when the outcome of religious reform in England had been the destruction of the monarchy, the execution of the King, and the establishment of a commonwealth, it is not to be wondered at if no Huguenot was permitted to enter and sow discord and his pernicious doctrines in a community where the Jesuits and Marie of Medici held sway. But it was well for Canada that her first missionaries were followers of the gentle Francis d'Assisi, and that she never had to cower under the tyranny of the Dominicans, nor submit to their methods of evangelization ; for the records of the Order of St. Dominic in the New World illustrate strikingly the warping effects which bigotry will produce on human character. In the early days of Spanish domination, the Dominicans were the most strenuous defenders of the oppressed Indians. If good and

merciful men are canonized in heaven, Las Casas is there a saint, even though the honor has not been conferred upon him on earth; and yet the members of the same order presided over the inconceivable barbarities of the Lima Inquisition. The Church of France, under the frenzy of political and religious excitement, may have sung paeans over the massacre of St. Bartholomew, but it tolerated only for a short time the cold, calculating and insatiable cruelty of the Holy Office. The exclusion from Canada of the Huguenots was not the only reason why the orthodox heresy hunters did not follow their game thither, for they found full scope for their fiendish instincts in Spanish America, where no senses less keen than theirs could have detected the faintest odor of heresy. The truth is that the Inquisition was always abhorrent to the more tolerant French character. To this happy circumstance it was doubtless due that, even in the most modified form, this unholy office was never exercised in Canada. There were a few heretics burned in France, but they were not all men holding anti-papal views. Of the twenty-five "spirituals," for instance, one of the many subordinate orders of St. Francis, who were cited to appear at Avignon in 1317 before Pope John XXII., and who, despite the papal command, continued to follow the strict rules of *Sieur Jean Olive*, four were burned in Marseilles in 1318. There continued to be inquisitions, though two only, one at Toulouse, the other at Carcassone, originally intended to aid in stamping out the Waldensian heresy, existed at the end of the seventeenth century. The Dominicans were judges and executioners, though their power was less arbitrary than in Spain. *Sieur Jean Olive's* doctrine was pronounced heretical in the following particulars, "that he considered the divine essence engendered; that the soul of man is not of the same form as his body; and that Christ received the lance wound before his death." The Hermit *Celestin*, another Franciscan, was turned over to the Inquisition and tortured in Trivento, Naples.

St. Dominic died in 1221, St. Francis d'Assisi in 1226. Both, therefore, saw the orders which they founded flourishing and spreading over Europe. The creation of these two preaching orders in the thirteenth century, under strict rules of celibacy,

poverty and obedience, may be regarded from one point of view as the enlistment of an army to oppose heresy and schism, which were then being organized under the banners of the Vaudois, the Albigenses, the Petrobrusians, the Henricians and a host of other sects whose common bond was an aversion to the tyranny of Rome. But from another point of view, the simultaneous birth and rapid growth of two such bodies bespeak the generation in the Church itself of a higher and a purer life, the fruit, probably, of the protest of many within its bosom against the abounding vice, the greed for wealth, and the reliance on brute force which were too visible in the high places of spiritual authority. The new monks were the upholders of the strictest orthodoxy, and of implicit obedience to the See of Rome. They preached in the vernacular, clad in coarsest garb, and their austerity and poverty stood out in glaring contrast to the luxury and indolence of many of the secular clergy, and to the laxity in discipline into which the earlier monastic orders had fallen.

The second and more successful revolt against the claims of Rome, that under Martin Luther in the sixteenth century, was followed by another accession of feverish zeal in the Church itself, and the enrollment of other levies to fight the battle of the Church. The Jesuits, who sprang up to meet this fresh danger, were better equipped to combat the new ideas than were the mendicant friars, however potent the latter may have been for quelling those ill-led and disorganized bodies, which in the thirteenth century were struggling to realize half-understood aspirations toward political and religious liberty.

There occurred, however, also in the sixteenth century, a revival of the older orders, especially that of St. Francis d'Assisi, in the sub-orders of the Capuchins and Recollets; and the need felt at the same time for some provision for the elementary education of men and women was met by the institution of the Christian Brothers and of the Order of the Ursulines, both of whom acquired a firm footing in Canada. These supporters of traditional theology and opponents of political progress would almost seem to have been called into existence in obedience to some natural law, to correct the excesses into which unbridled thought and feeling

might have carried mankind under the first exuberant impulse of freedom. While they may have exerted a salutary restraint on the headlong pace of liberated Europe, in Canada, during the French regime, their influence was such as effectually to check all movement towards freedom in thought or independence in action.

The two orders which first stamped their impress on the history of Quebec were the Franciscans, in the person of the Recollets, and the Jesuits. Of all the religious orders, the followers of the gentle St. Francis might have been expected to be the most active and sympathetic apostles of the gospel to the wild tribes of the earth; but the constitution under which that wonderful organizer, Ignatius Loyola, controlled the numerous highly intelligent and zealous persons who flocked to his standard, made less impracticable demands on one's conscience and mode of life than that of St. Francis. The rule of obedience was more stringent, but that of abject poverty, collectively and individually, was omitted. Loyola had seen what perpetual strife it had produced in the Order of St. Francis, and he knew what tremendous power resides in the possession of wealth. He therefore imposed no restriction on the tenure of property by the body as a corporation. We shall see to what extent the vows of poverty hampered the Recollets, and how ownership of vast estates aided the Jesuits in Canada.

The Recollets, according to Le Clercq—but this statement must be accepted with qualifications—belonged to one of the strictest branches of the Order of Friars. The saintly founder of the order, moved by pity for the poor and indignation against the rich, imposed on his followers a vow of absolute poverty which forbade them owning property, collecting rents, or accepting alms in the form of coins. But even during his lifetime there were murmurs against the strict observance of this rule, and the first general, Father Hélié, did not hesitate to break it. Appeals were made to the Popes to permit a laxer interpretation of the Master's injunction; and not in vain, for the rules of St. Francis were modified by declarations of Popes Nicholas III., Clement V. and Martin V. The latter, at the Chapter General of the order in

1430, permitted even "conventuals" to hold property, accept legacies and collect rents. At that date there were two groups of sub-orders. There were the Conventuals, or those who lived in communities like other friars, owned their convent and valuable property, and allowed themselves such liberties and luxuries as the monks of the period indulged in, and *les Frères Mineurs de l'étroite observance*, who claimed to follow the stricter observance of the founder's rules. The latter were disciples of Paulet de Foligno, who had inaugurated a reform movement against the laxity of morals prevailing in the large monasteries. To this group belonged the Recollets. They had been introduced from Italy into France in 1592, under the patronage of Louis de Gonzague, and established in the Convent of Nevers. They formed only one of some twenty-five bodies of schismatics in the order itself, who during the previous three centuries had been led by monks who favored a return to primitive austerity. Some of these had embraced heretical tenets, and were dealt with accordingly. Others were zealous for trifling changes in dress, such as none but ecclesiastical fanatics, with thoughts and aspirations bounded by the walls of their monastery, could possibly account as of any importance. But others of these sub-orders were composed of men earnest in their desire to live up to the standards of the founder and to follow his holy example. The Recollets were one of these. Some of their brethren had already carried the gospel into South America and the kingdom of Tuscany, and were now willing to face the dangers of the Canadian forests. In Canada their influence at first was altogether good: free from all taint of sordid motive, under vows of poverty, and forbidden to hold productive real estate, they lived together only when the fulfilment of duty required. They never congregated in wealthy or sumptuous monasteries, either in Canada or elsewhere. Their Quebec house was never noted for such expensive or costly grounds as adorned the College of the Jesuits, nor, as the records show, is there a single instance in Canada of their owning real estate yielding any revenue. They were the first missionaries to convert the North American Indian, and in those early days, when the regular clergy were few, and the curés were missionary priests, the Recollets

held each his separate "cure of souls" in the small isolated villages along the St. Lawrence, exposed to all the dangers of Iroquois attack. Our story will show how they were forced into the background by the more astute and energetic members of the Jesuit order, but it would be difficult to estimate the debt Canada owes to them.

But to return from this long digression. The priests, as we have seen, preceded the Governor from Tadousac to Quebec. Was it a forecast of the struggle which was to be waged in the future city between the Church and the State? Within the week two of the Recollets followed in Champlain's company, but such was the haste of Father Le Caron to commence his missionary work among the Indians, that he did not await the Governor's departure from Quebec for the appointed rendezvous at the Grand Sault, but started in advance. Champlain himself did not tarry long at the *habitation*, where there was not much to attend to. The trade centers were at the mouths of the great rivers—the Saguenay, the St. Maurice and the Ottawa. But he had to regulate the affairs of the post; to set men clearing more land, to assist the good fathers in selecting a site for their residence and chapel, and afford them what aid his slender resources permitted towards the work of construction. These earliest religious edifices were probably built near the *habitation*, and not far from the present Church of Notre Dame de la Victoire, if not upon its site; for the cul-de-sac now covered by the Market Hall was, previous to the erection of that building in 1865, a deep indentation in the beach facing Champlain street; in Champlain's day it was probably the landing place and harbor for small craft. The *habitation*, the Recollet House and the chapel, therefore, stood not far apart. The Father and all hands worked with such zeal, that the chapel was sufficiently completed to allow of mass being celebrated by Father d'Olbeau on June 25th. Le Clercq talks grandiloquently of salvos of artillery accompanying the singing of the Te Deum. No doubt rejoicing was expressed by such signs as the few weary and homesick dwellers in the *habitation* could invent. Father Denis Jamay, the first commissionnaire, would have been the celebrant, but he had left about the 10th with

Champlain for the upper St. Lawrence. Father d'Olbeau had met them at the River des Prairies, on his way back to Quebec, to provide himself with church ornaments and supplies for the winter sojourn among the Hurons, which he had determined upon undertaking despite Champlain's warning. Bent on his purpose he hurried on to Quebec, and left it again in equal haste, lest he should miss the Hurons returning to their *bourgade* on the Georgian Bay. Champlain returned more leisurely to Quebec to make final preparations for his trip to the Huron country, and to give further instructions to the little colony.

It was the 4th of July, 1615, before, for the second time, he left the *habitation* in his canoe with two men for his eventful trip to the Lakes. Pontgravé and Father Denis, whom he met on their way down the river, gave him the unwelcome news that the savages, impatient of his delay, had gone forward. He and his friends when they bade one another adieu, parted, as it proved, for nearly a twelvemonth, for it was the end of the following June, when his people had given him up for lost, before Champlain re-emerged from the forest, after an experience in Indian warfare which should have taught him how unreliable are Indian allies; how valiant Indian foes may be; and what admirable tacticians the savage warriors are when fighting in their native forests. Had he been willing, even then, to take counsel from experience, the history of New France would have been very different. Unfortunately, his military impulses again dominated both his mercantile interests and his political sagacity.

Meanwhile the infant colony was preserved from sinking into barbarism by the presence of the Fathers. We get stray glimpses of what was happening from the records of the Recollets, whose historian, Father Sagard, occasionally condescends to tell us something of what other people beside the brothers of his order were doing. If he has not told us more, we must remember that, in the view of ecclesiastics, especially of the monastic orders, their own self-importance is very prominent, and that matters ecclesiastical assume such magnitude, that they obscure all other interests, with the result that their narratives are liable to be imperfect and their opinions partial. Nevertheless we should fare

ill without such contemporary record of the early days of the colony as is given by the Recollet, Sagard, or such mention of the more stirring episodes of its later history, as is to be found in the works of Hennepin and Le Clercq.

How many ships anchored opposite Quebec, we are not informed, nor when it was that Pontgravé, whom we last saw with Father Denis sending Champlain off with a godspeed on his adventurous foray to the upper Lakes with only two Frenchmen, dropped down to the Saguenay, took in his additional cargo of peltries, and sailed for France. Of this we may be sure, that all this time the hearts of the dwellers within the *habitation* were dying within them, as hopes of the return of their leader were being abandoned. Winter had set in, yet he and his adventurous companion, Etienne Brulé, had not returned. Where were they in that limitless expanse of snow and forest, peopled by red savages and imaginary demons? As inactivity only aggravated anxiety, Father d'Olbeau, who had not been able to carry out his purpose of penetrating the Huron country, left with a party of Montagnais on December 2nd, intending to accompany them on their winter's hunt and learn their language and customs. The Indians he could tolerate, but not the excruciating smoke of their campfires. It so irritated his weak eyes that he was obliged to return on peril of permanently injuring his sight. Then on March 24 occurred the death of Michel Colin, whose last hours were cheered by the ministrations of the clergy. Of the many unfortunates who under Cartier, Roberval and Champlain had succumbed to scurvy and other diseases, he was the first to be buried with the rites of the Church.

As passengers on the Spring fleet this year (1616) there came some real colonists—men with their wives, intent on making a home in the wilderness. This interesting fact we glean incidentally from Father Sagard, who only mentions it in connection with the fact that on the 15th of July Father d'Olbeau administered extreme unction to Margaret Vienne, and buried her with all the ceremony of Holy Church. This is the first indication that the Prince of Condé's new company was really attempting to fulfil its function

as a colonizer. Another instance of the absorption of these good fathers in themselves and in their ecclesiastical interests is exhibited in the entire ignoring of Champlain and his important proceedings. We are told, for example, that Father Le Caron left the Huron village on the Georgian Bay, on the 20th of May, 1616, with the fleet of canoes, bound for the trading mart of Three Rivers, where he arrived on July 1 and met Father d'Olbeau, who had come up in one of the three ships to witness the great gathering of the Indians assembled there for the annual fair. It was of small moment in the estimate of the scribe that Champlain, Lieutenant Governor of all New France, bore the missionaries company, and that Father d'Olbeau had come with Pontgravé himself, and that their friend and master was welcomed as one risen from the dead; for false reports of disaster circulated by the Indians had greatly intensified the apprehensions of the little colony when Champlain failed to return in the autumn of the previous year.

A week at Three Rivers sufficed for barter and trade. On the 8th of July, Champlain, Pontgravé and the two priests started together, and reached Quebec on the 11th, where a service of thanksgiving was sung for their safe return. Champlain's next occupation was to entertain with due display and ceremony a Huron chief who had descended the river with him, and to send him back to his countrymen, who were waiting for him at the Sault St. Louis, laden with presents and properly impressed, as he supposed, with awe of the French. The impression, as subsequent events proved, was not as deep as might have been wished. These official acts performed, he planned an addition to the *habitation*, to be built of stone and mortar, for the old wooden house was hardly a fit abode for a Lieutenant-Governor, or for the accommodation of his own company, still less for the entertainment of the strangers who from time to time were his guests. Then he collected samples of wheat, Indian corn and such agricultural products as he could take with him to France as proof of the fertility of the soil. It must nevertheless have been with a sigh that he looked forward to leaving, for his garden was at its best; the peas and beans were ripe; the cabbage swelling, and all

nature was revelling in that exuberant life and fertility characteristic of the short Canadian summer. Yet what was there to detain him in Quebec? The season's work had been done. All the peltries offered at the Sault and at Three Rivers he had monopolized under the exclusive terms of the charter, and his agents had secured a share of the business transacted at the mouth of the Saguenay. Yet, if there was little work to be done, there were many knotty problems to solve, and during these few days long and earnest discussions affecting the future of New France were held in a council convened by the monks, to which they called the Governor and six of the most influential residents of the little hamlet. The conversion of the natives was of course what the ecclesiastics had chiefly at heart. In devising plans for the attainment of this end, the conclusion reached was that the savages must be civilized before they could be Christianized, and that this could be effected only by intimate intercourse with civilized men. But there was only a handful of corporation officials as yet in this illimitable wilderness, and they were servants of a company of fur traders whose real interests were opposed to colonization, and most of whom were heretics. Persuasion must therefore be used with the company's officers in France, to induce them to reverse their policy and inaugurate active colonization. If that could not be done, efforts must be made to break down the company's privilege, and have the St. Lawrence really thrown open to the fur trade. Population, they believed, would inevitably follow.

It was a bold programme for four poor monks, belonging to an order sworn to poverty, to propound, men who could neither individually nor collectively participate in the prosperity which the success of the scheme implied. As they were prepared to make the attempt, however, it was decided that the commissioner, Father Denis Jamay, and Father Le Caron, should accompany the Governor to France. Both had been eye witnesses of the needs of the Indians, and Le Caron could relate his experience of a winter's residence among them in the very heart of the continent.

After nine days' work and rest at the *habitation*, Champlain and his religious companions took boat and dropped down the

river to Tadousac, which was virtually the head of sea navigation. When he looked back at Québec, he beheld the trading post grown into a village, though it was still in truth little else than the depot of a fur company. Still it gave promise of what his hopes and imagination had for so many years been picturing to his mind. Beside the *habitation*, now to be extended so as to accommodate a larger staff of the company's servants, there was the temporary monastery of the Recollets and their little chapel, and probably some wooden shanties built of logs by the newly arrived colonists. The bare-foot monks stood on the shore, and beside them those still more beneficent harbingers of civilization, the wives and children of the colonists. They must have been very sad and full of foreboding, for only the evening before they had laid to rest poor Margaret Vienne, who probably was not the only woman who had that summer accompanied her husband in the company's ship with sanguine expectations of prosperity in the New World. The veil is now drawn for another long winter over the little group of men and women composing the inhabitants of Quebec. The hamlet was small, it is true, yet there was more interest in life than heretofore. Father d'Olbeau and that charming lay brother, Du Plessis, a scholar and a man of strong sense and sound mother wit, as his subsequent actions proved, were there. Their religious services broke delightfully into the monotony of the daily routine of snow shovelling and firewood cutting, and their sermons gave many a subject for hot discussion among the servants of the company, not a few of whom were at that period still Huguenots. Father Le Clercq, indeed, tells us that the ridicule these cast on the mysteries of the Church retarded not a little the progress of missionary work among the Indians. Material considerations, however, began to be uppermost in men's thoughts, for, before the close of the winter, provisions for the increased number of mouths were running short.

While the colonists were starving in Quebec, the good fathers in France were pleading, with scant encouragement, for their flock. The officials of the company were glad enough to listen to Father Joseph's account of the great interior, and of its resources in furs and of its hordes of savage hunters; but they

were probably as averse to ruining their commercial prospects by the encouragement of farming and competition in trade as was the Hudson Bay Company, long afterwards, to Lord Selkirk's magnificent plans for peopling the Red River valley. Besides which, if we accept as true the accounts of the Recollet historians, that Huguenot influence and Huguenot money still supported the company, there was cause for hesitation, as the fortunes of the Reformers, as a party in the State, had just then reached a very critical point. In this very year of 1616, the Roman Catholic clergy had recovered power sufficient to secure the restitution of the Church property in Béarn. This inevitably presaged the breaking out of another religious war; and every far-seeing Huguenot (and commercial men are generally good prophets) must have dreaded the result, for the forces marshalling against Reform and its inseparable ally, Republicanism, were becoming every day stronger and more compact.

If the company declined to act, the Government was certainly not in a condition to aid the Recollets in carrying out their broadly conceived scheme of evangelization and colonization. A weak King, Louis XIII., had but recently gained his majority after a regency, under Marie de Medici and her venal Italian servants, which had done little for the glory of France. At this moment the boy King, only sixteen years old, was under the influence of the clever young sycophant, de Luynes, who was plotting the banishment of the Queen Mother and the death of her favorite. All his sinister plans were accomplished before the year closed. With the King's connivance the Maréchal d'Ancre, né Concini, was assassinated on the Pont du Louvre. His wife, the Maréchale Leonora Galigai, the Queen's former maid of honor, was beheaded on the fictitious charge of witchcraft. The Queen was obliged to retire to the Château of Blois, and her counsellor, the Bishop of Luzon, had perforce to follow her. He who subsequently figured in history, and in Canadian story, as Cardinal Richelieu had as definite, though not as correct, conceptions of a colonial policy as the Recollet Friars, and not so many years afterward he was able to carry them out with decision. The only motive which prompted those in power was ignoble, sordid selfish-

ness; while, amongst the leaders of the Reformed church, the pristine simplicity and fervor of sincere religion had been contaminated by the intermixture of political aspirations. The religious historians of Canada attribute the reluctance to give active aid to the work of colonization and of the evangelization of the Indians to the selfishness of the company and the religious antagonism of its Huguenot members. Champlain, with fuller knowledge and greater candor, assigns it to the state of disorganization which prevailed in the Government. The Lieutenant Governor of New France, Charles de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, who had opposed the Queen Regent and her favorite, had been imprisoned, but Champlain believed that the Company was the real object of their hostility. "The head being sick," as he expressed it, "the members could not enjoy good health." Mons. le Prince, the head of the company, though natural brother of Henry IV., had not been above selling the revenues of the Abbey of Marmontier to the deformed brother-in-law of Concini, Etienne Galigai, who was now in prison. Ambiguous negotiations seem to have been carried on through an intermediary as to the terms on which Monsieur le Maréchal de Théminis should temporarily fill his place till released. Meanwhile remonstrances were made to the authorities against the laxity of the company in fulfilling its obligations in the matter of colonization. Champlain admits that some of the members were ready to amend their shortcomings, and that to that end his old friend de Monts, who was evidently still active and interested in the management, and more broadminded than his partners, drew up a series of articles obliging the company to increase the number of settlers, to supply means of defense, and to provide settlers with provisions for two years while they were learning to be self-supporting. "These articles," adds Champlain, "were handed to Mons. de Merillac to be laid before the Council. Though the project was well conceived, it came to naught. All went up in smoke—why and wherefore we know not." And when he was just about to sail a scoundrel called Boyer produced an act of the Parliament of Rouen, denying his right to act as Lieutenant of the Prince. The most antagonistic influence to the company's financial prosperity, and hence

to the colony's progress, would seem to have been, not the religious prejudices of the shareholders, but discord within the company and jealousy by competitive traders of the company's exclusive privileges.

But to return to 1616. So inopportune was the moment to inaugurate a great colonial movement and a generous missionary effort, that but little heed was paid to the appeal of Father Le Caron in the interest of the benighted red men. His own zeal was not dampened by disappointment, though his superior, Father Jamay, did not at once return to Canada. A substitute was, nevertheless, forthcoming in the person of Father Paul Huet. Champlain seconded vigorously, as we have seen, the efforts of the Friars in this winter of 1616-1617 in favor of an active immigration movement, perhaps not altogether without effect, for Capt. Morrel's good ship, which carried him and the Recollet missionaries, through storm and ice, after a long passage of thirteen weeks and one day, to Tadousac, took out as passengers the family of the Sieur Hébert, consisting of his wife, two daughters and a little boy. The Sieur Hébert became the most notable private citizen of Quebec, and, as the association feared, a troublesome business competitor.

Father Sagard tells us that the Hébert household came out with the intention of living in Canada, and persisted in living there despite the opposition of the old mercantile company, which subjected the family to every hardship possible, hoping either to force them to leave the country in disgust, or to reduce them to the condition of mere servants and even slaves. "By such cruelties," the good Father adds, "are the poor prevented from enjoying the fruits of their labor! Oh God! how the big fish devour the little ones." The Sieur Hébert's daughter, Ann, made her name memorable by marrying Etienne Jonquet Normand. Though she had lost no time in selecting a husband, she considerately postponed the wedding till the ships sailed away. They carried Father d'Olbeau, and thus the celebration of the first marriage by the rites of the Church in Canada fell to the lot of Father Joseph. Occasions and excuses for merry-making were rare enough, and doubtless it was a subject for

public congratulation that the festivities were delayed till the bustle of the departing ship had subsided, and the community was thrown upon itself for amusement. The summer, indeed, had been a very wretched one. The crops, over which Champlain went into ecstasies the previous autumn, may have been very luxuriant, but certainly they were not abundant, for when Capt. Morrel arrived at Quebec late in June, he found its fifty or sixty people starving. He parted with all he could spare—a single small barrel of pork. His own stores had been unduly depleted through his extraordinarily long voyage. The increase of twenty in the number of inhabitants over the last enumeration must have been due to the families who had arrived that season, and the previous one. The old inhabitants had been unmarried servants of the trading company, and adventurers. They were driven to cultivate Champlain's garden in order to raise small crops as proofs of the land's productiveness, but evidently they considered steady agricultural labor as a hardship. Henceforth there was to be some real farming in the valley of the St. Lawrence.

Champlain passes over the summer almost in silence, merely remarking in his edition of 1632 that nothing worth mentioning had happened. The Indians who had promised to meet him and accompany him into the interior had failed to keep their promise. The reason of their reluctance was probably dread of punishment for the murder of two Frenchmen in the preceding autumn, a crime, however, which had not then been discovered. The two unfortunates were shooting on the Beauport Flats when attacked and killed by two Montagnais in revenge for some real or supposed injury. The murderers sank the bodies in the river, and the deed remained a secret for nearly eighteen months. But the Indians, naturally suspicious and superstitious, doubted the ignorance of the French, and dreaded the infliction of some mysterious form of revenge. The season had not been memorable for any adventure or exploration of Champlain's own, and he would probably fain forget, and was loath to record, the misery which the little colony suffered from famine and the short rations of the previous spring, and the sickness, called by him *mal de la terre*, which followed the famine.

Father d'Olbeau, who accompanied him to France in the autumn of 1617, to try his powers of persuasion, succeeded no better than Father Joseph had done in the previous winter. The shareholders were no more disposed to run needless risks than they had been the previous year. Faction and selfishness were rampant throughout the kingdom, and the agitation among the Huguenots, already active in the previous year, was now gathering force and was about to break forth into revolt. Father d'Olbeau, who had been nominated commissionnaire, persuaded Father Modeste Guines to return with him in the spring of 1618. There were therefore in the spring of 1618 four Recollet friars and one lay brother in Canada. Champlain was as unsuccessful during the winter of 1617-1618 as his religious collaborators in awakening ardor in the company or in the general public. The pettiest possible quarrels distracted the associates. The Prince de Condé was still in prison. His substitute, the Sieur de Thémisinis, obtained an Order in Council requiring the company to pay over to him the salary attached to the office. The Prince protested. The company, not unreasonably objecting to pay the salary twice, suggested as a compromise that the amount be given to the Recollets as a contribution towards building their seminary in Canada. Neither of the claimants, however, was charitably inclined. Meanwhile public opposition to the company had become strenuous. The estates of Brittany declared the trade of the St. Lawrence open to all Bretons, an act which the Parliament of Paris inadvertently confirmed. It required a vigorous effort on the part of Champlain and the Rouen shareholders to secure its repeal. He warned his employers that if they confined their operations to the fur trade alone, and made no effort to render the colony self-sustaining through agriculture, their tenure of life, in a business sense, would inevitably be short. He was met by the not unreasonable argument that their commercial privileges were liable to cancellation without notice, and that the very settlers, whom it would cost much to install, and still more to support till self-support became possible, would themselves immediately become traders and meddle between the company and the Indians. Champlain's entreaties

wrung promises, but promises only, from the association. Yet he was encouraged, when returning to Quebec in the spring of 1618 in his old friend Pontgravé's ship, by the presence of the Sieur de la Mothe as fellow passenger. De la Mothe was a man of character. He had gone with the Jesuits to L'Acadie; had been carried off to Virginia by Argall; was sent thence a prisoner to England; liberated and restored to his native land; and was willing again to risk shipwreck and capture in the New World. If a good impression could be made on such a man, surely his report would excite some interest in France on his return. Champlain could not yet bring out his young wife, but her brother, Eustache Boullé, a youth of eighteen years of age, bore him company.

On arrival disquieting news met him at Tadousac: the colony had just escaped annihilation by an Indian massacre. The dread of discovery felt by the murderers of the two sportsmen on the Beauport Flats in the autumn of 1616 hung over the Indians like a nightmare; and, with the savage disregard of ultimate consequences, it was decided to fall on the little colony and exterminate it, thus executing the executioner. There is no proof that the remains of the murdered men had yet been found. They were supposed to have been drowned by the upsetting of their canoe. With a view to relieving the tension eight hundred Montaignais Indians assembled at Three Rivers; but, while they were deliberating how best to wreak vengeance on their former allies, one of the chiefs known as La Forière, moved by motives which are not very intelligible, descended to Quebec and revealed the whole plot to Beauchasse, the company's factor and clerk. La Forière then became mediator between the Indians and the colonists. A safe conduct was promised to the Indian chiefs, if they would visit the *habitation*. They came. The first proposal made by them was to commute the punishment by a present of furs, according to Indian custom. This seemed to Beauchasse, from a business point of view, in every way a profitable mode of settlement. The two missionaries, on the contrary, Le Caron and Huet, with a better knowledge of Indian character, pointed out that, once the principle was admitted that the value of a French-

man's life was to be computed by so many beaver skins, no Frenchman's life would be safe. The missionaries were right, and their advice prevailed: a peremptory demand was made for the surrender of the two murderers.

Indians to our own day can always secure the apprehension or the death of any guilty member of their tribe, if the common-weal demands it. In this case one of the murderers, after adorning himself with all his finery, voluntarily entered the fort with his father and some of the chiefs. The drawbridge was raised and every precaution taken against an attack by the hordes of savages surrounding the *habitation*. Beauchasse, who was able by this time to speak in Algonquin, addressed the Indians, pointing out the benefit the friendship of the French had been to them, and would continue to be, and the enormity of the crime which had been committed. The faltering speech dragged till the patience of the accused was thoroughly exhausted, and he told them that he was an Indian and not afraid to die, and begged that the factor, Beauchasse, would despatch him with as little formality as possible. It had to be explained that, whatever might be his fate, such summary condemnation and execution were opposed to French procedure. In fact neither side was prepared to carry matters to extremes. The Indians might have succeeded had they surprised the French, but they knew full well they could not withstand firearms behind the entrenched and stockaded fort. They were starving, and were forced to solicit food from the very white men whose death they had been plotting. On the other hand, the policy of the French trading company had been to propitiate the Algonquin tribes and the Huron branch of the Iroquois. The execution of the murderers would excite the utmost rage and originate a war of revenge, which the company was utterly unable to sustain. It would simply ruin trade by closing its sources and channels. It was wisely decided, therefore, to ask for hostages in the persons of two children, and to postpone the trial and sentence until Champlain should arrive in the spring. The hostages were given. The Recollet fathers soon found they had their hands full in taking care of the little urchins. Both were quick at learning, and one was reasonably tractable, but

as soon as opportunity offered they escaped back to their wild life. Thus happily ended the first Indian rising against the whites in the forests of North America. The peril had been great, and the anxiety of the fifty or sixty "habitants," crowded for safety into the *habitation*, the only defensible building, must have been oppressive. Had it not been for the wise yet firm counsel given by the fathers, the immediate and remote consequences would have been disastrous.

Brother du Plessis, who was in charge of the mission at Three Rivers when the conspiracy was hatched, had descended to Quebec to aid in the pacification of his savage flock. When therefore Champlain arrived at the *habitation* on the 1st of June with De La Mothe, Captain Pontgravé, a clerk called Loquin who had come out to assist Beauchasse, and Fathers d'Olbeau and Guines, all the Recollet missionaries in Canada met him at Quebec. The welcome was doubly hearty, for, to add to the anxiety of the colony, the spring ships were late. The smaller ship had made a good passage, but she unfortunately was so scantily provisioned that the crew had been on short rations, and she could therefore spare nothing to the famished inhabitants, who had given more than they could spare to propitiate the Indians during and subsequent to the critical negotiations. They had emptied the store-house, gathered the last of the season's mushrooms, and rooted up from the garden what vegetables had survived the winter. Day by day had they looked down the river with growing despair for the approaching ship with Pontgravé and Champlain and his stores of good things. At last it hove in sight and the situation was materially relieved.

After a short stay at the *habitation*, where Champlain was greatly delighted with the fertility of the soil and the luxuriance of the vegetation, but deplored the indolence and indifference of the settlers, who, amid potential plenty, would starve rather than work, he hurried to Three Rivers to decide the fate of the murderers. There was the usual ceremonious council. His assistance was asked by the Indians against their enemies. He charged them with breach of promise in not meeting him the year before;

declined to accompany them at once owing to the heinous crime committed by members of their tribe; but promised, on condition of their good behavior and of their trade, to join them the following year. Finally, seizing a sword, he flung it into the St. Lawrence, and as its waters closed over the weapon and concealed it for ever and for aye, assured them that so would all ill-will between the French and their allies be obliterated and forgotten—even to the crime which might so justly have been punished by death. With this fine dramatic flourish he liberated the prisoners. The Indians were too polite to laugh.

With the Indians there came to the fair at Three Rivers the progenitors of a class of men who did more than French soldiers or statesmen to extend French influence over the vast West and Northwest—the *coureurs de bois*. Etienne Brulé had, more than three years before, been sent by Champlain with twelve Indians from Lake Simcoe, when he was on his unsuccessful campaign against the Iroquois, to urge his allies to hasten their arrival at the trysting place. After waiting beyond the appointed time, Champlain left, and, from that day forward, nothing had been heard of Brulé. He could have told a thrilling tale of adventure among the Iroquois and the Hurons; yet he was in no haste to return to civilization. He had learned the Huron language, he had acquired the Indian habits, and, though Champlain does not expressly say so, had married an Indian wife. He would not stay among his countrymen, but returned with the Hurons as an adopted member of the tribe to further explore the Western country. From Champlain's account, he seems to have forestalled La Salle in the discovery of the Mississippi. Parkman supposes it to have been the Susquehanna, as Brulé spent one winter in visiting the nations adjacent to the Huron territory, and in traveling along a river which flows into the sea near Florida. He descended the river as far as the sea and speaks of the mild climate of the country and the wild animals ranging over it in great numbers. He ultimately met an Indian's fate in a violent death in 1632 at the hands of a Huron. The readiness with which the French adapted themselves to Indian ways of life is a trait not exhibited by any other of the European nations which

have colonized the Western hemisphere. There seemed to be elements peculiarly congenial to the French taste in the wild, untrammelled habits of the forest hunters of North America. The Frenchman's love of adventure was gratified, his native activity of mind and body found full scope for exercise, and in the woods he was far away from the Priest and the Intendant. Though excommunications were fulminated against the *coureurs de bois* by the Church, and edicts and ordinances and sentences of punishment by death itself, in case of disobedience, passed by the Council, these progenitors of the half-breed of the West increased and multiplied. In trying to repress them the French Government acted inconsistently with its avowed principles; for the conviction that the higher civilization can assimilate the lower was then, and still is, a fundamental principle of French colonial policy. It has never been propounded, or believed to be practicable, by any experienced English colonists.

The danger of an Indian outbreak having been averted, and a profitable trade in furs secured as the result of his clemency, Champlain returned to Quebec, but tarried only while Pontgravé made a trip to Tadousac for provisions for the winter support of the little community. Then he, Father Paul and Brother Pacifique set sail for France. They left Tadousac on the 30th of July, and landed at Honfleur on the 28th of August, 1618. Monsieur de la Mothe remained in Canada, but no mention is made of other accessions to the population, except the clerk, Loquin. One death only is recorded, despite the failure of stores in the early summer. The victim was a Scotch Presbyterian, who wanted to be allowed to die in peace, but the good fathers, on his refusing their ministrations, consigned the poor soul to the hands of Satan, "who hurried him off to the very lowest depths of hell." Ere long there were to be no more heretics in this holy land, and therefore no further need for such painful extremities of spiritual jurisdiction. In this incident we meet for the first time the gentle influence of woman's charity in New France. It was Madame Hébert who tended the unfortunate Scotchman, so far from home and from congenial surroundings,

and it was she whose solicitude about his soul was so urgent that she called in the clergy to effect his conversion.

These glimpses of life under the cliff are given by the Recollet Father Sagard. He was not himself sent to Canada—to his great regret—until 1623; but such matters were still fresh in men's memory, as well as accessible in the records of the order. While he is garrulous about trifles, he is silent, and significantly silent—one cannot but suppose—about more momentous events, especially when Champlain himself is concerned. While Champlain makes constant reference to the Friars, to their comings and goings and doings, he is treated by them with contemptuous silence. The inference is that he disapproved of their conduct as being injurious to the interests of the company and of New France, or else that his religious opinions were not rigid enough to please them. They were not combative like their successors and future rivals, the Jesuits. If they disapproved, they simply expressed dissent by silence. But in this antagonism and jealousy, overt or latent, we detect already, what was destined to be the bane of French colonial rule in America, ecclesiastical influence at war with the civil power,

CHAPTER VII.

Champlain as Governor Under the Duc de Montmorency and the Creation of the De Caen Trading Company. 1619-1624.

We now enter on another phase of the colony's existence and the company's history. Champlain, as representative of both, is distracted in trying to adjust his conduct as manager of a mercantile association with his sense of duty as Governor of the colony. And unfortunately at this juncture the course of events cannot be as distinctly traced as heretofore, inasmuch as there is internal evidence that the 1632 edition of Champlain's work was revised and altered by some other hand than his own. The "Voyage jusque à la fin de l'Année, 1618," published in 1619, is as it came from Champlain's pen, and therefore doubtful points in the edition of 1632 up to that date can be verified by reference to the narrative published in 1619. For events subsequent to 1619 we are dependent on the edition of 1632. As l'Abbé Laverdière points out in his preface to the edition of 1632, the discrepancies in the two narratives so often and so pointedly indicate a hand hostile to the Recollet Fathers, that the inference is that the editor was a Jesuit. Father Sagard's "Histoire de Canada" appeared in 1634—two years after Champlain's edition of 1632, and one year before Champlain's death. Irritation at the slight thrown on his Order in Champlain's last narrative may account for his obscuration of Champlain in his own history. As Champlain was in France, or a captive in England, from 1629 to 1632, when he returned to Quebec, it is difficult to understand why the edition of 1632 should not have been put through the press by himself; and yet there are in it palpable errors which it is incredible that he should have committed. For instance, the edition of 1619 tells us that in the autumn of 1616, just before sailing, he planned an extension of the *habitation*, and "had it

all built of lime and sand, having found material of excellent quality near the *habitation*, which is a great convenience in building to those who are willing to take the trouble of carrying and using it." The passage is omitted entirely in the edition of 1632; but this edition interpolates in the narrative of what occurred in 1618 a document, sworn to before a notary, which enumerates the articles the association binds itself to send to the colony. Among these are "ten hogsheads of lime, necessary, inasmuch as none had up to that time been found in the country, though it has since been discovered." It is simply incredible that Champlain could have so contradicted himself in a matter of common everyday knowledge. We are thus driven to conclude that the edition of 1632, while composed in the main from materials he supplied, was not entirely written by him, was not corrected by himself, and that it cannot therefore be wholly depended on as expressing his opinions. While this is probably true, it may also have happened that his sentiments, under Jesuit influences, may have actually changed towards the Recollets, and that the omissions in the edition of 1632, regarding the work of the Recollet Fathers, were really due to himself. Champlain was growing old: he was born in 1567. If such a change of sentiment on Champlain's part actually occurred, Sagard has taken revenge by suppressing as far as possible all mention of him in his "Histoire."

No sooner had Champlain set foot in France in August, 1618, than he recommenced his advocacy of a more vigorous colonial policy. He claims to have wrung from the association a promise sworn to before a notary in December, 1619 (evidently a mistake for 1618, as the document was collated on January 11, 1619) to send out eighty colonists, a consignment of tools and implements, arms and ammunition, kitchen utensils and table service for the Governor, as well as live stock and feed. The promise was never carried out. There was faction in the company; faction in the commercial centers; and faction in the State. In the company's councils two alternatives seem to have been the subject of discussion and discord. Some thought it best that the old method should be pursued of forbidding any but the company's agents trafficking with the Indians for furs. Others

proposed that settlement should be encouraged, and a free trade in Canada permitted between the settlers and the Indians—the furs obtained by the settlers to be, however, stored in the company's magazine, shipped by the company to France, and paid for in bills of exchange. The first plan would have been most advantageous to the company. The long experience of the Hudson Bay Company and the Northwest Fur Company has since demonstrated the fact, and their own short and checkered career must have afforded arguments to the supporters of this view. Such a policy, however, is only practicable in a desolate region, from which immigration can be excluded. This Champlain knew not to be the case in Canada. Beside which, the English had for more than a decade been firmly established in Virginia; the Dutch had obtained a footing on the Hudson; and more than one company of Englishmen had attempted to found a colony on the New England coast. The English claimed Newfoundland and challenged the French right to Acadie. Competition would therefore be acute along their whole border. An absolute monopoly of the fur trade was possible only by dint of complete territorial isolation. Champlain saw this to be impossible, and he consequently favored a modification of the company's policy, which would give it a control merely of the commercial operations of the community, and would encourage the inhabitants themselves to push the trade with the Indians into remote sections of the continent. Were that policy adopted, commerce would grow with the increase of population, to the great benefit of the company. So argued Champlain; but the company hesitated to adopt so radical a measure, dreading that, if the freedom of trade with the Indians were conceded, equal freedom of trade between the Colony and France would be demanded, and could hardly be denied. The liberality of Champlain's opinions and plans evidently created suspicion in the minds of the associates regarding his entire and undivided devotion to their interests. Accordingly, when he was on the point of sailing for Quebec with his wife and household in the spring of 1619, he was informed that the company had handed over the management of their commercial affairs and of their property in Quebec to Pontgravé, so that he, Champlain, might be

free to prosecute his explorations in the interior without let or hindrance from the demands of business.

Pontgravé sailed, but without Champlain, who declined to accept a divided authority. He claimed that, under the King's commission, he was lieutenant of Monsieur le Prince, and that his authority as Governor extended over the whole population and over all property in New France, except the actual merchandise of the company in the company's store in Quebec, whose factor he was in the habit of appointing as his lieutenant during his absence. Pontgravé had been, and still was, his closest friend; he was old enough to be his father; and it was through no feeling of jealousy towards him that he refused to recognize this joint authority, but simply because his duty to the State was paramount. While he had been willing to work for the company and to receive compensation for it, he was Governor as Lieutenant for Charles de Bourbon, and Lieutenant General of the King in New France, and he could not, therefore, permit within his dominion the establishment and exercise of any independent power. Already the course of events in Virginia was affording an illustration of the direction likely to be taken by colonial enterprise when freed from imperial control; it may have been this that suggested Champlain's reflection that the motive of the company's officers was "to create an independent government, and to found a republic after their own fashion, using the King's commission merely as a cloak under which to carry out their sinister designs." The suppression of the Huguenot cause, soon after this date, as a controlling influence in French politics, was rendered easier by the example which England afforded of the tendency of freedom of thought and unlicensed debate. Of the two the French preferred the absolutism of Richelieu and later of Louis XIV., to the excesses of Republicanism.

The presumption of the English North American colonists was so utterly obnoxious to Richelieu, Mazarin and Colbert, and the rights asserted by the colonial assemblies and their encroachment on imperial control so opposed to the theory of government propounded by these great statesmen and practised by their masters, that, in framing a colonial policy for France, they cautiously elim-

inated every concession which could be used as a pretext for even the most elementary exercise of popular government by the colonists. Richelieu was not yet handling the reins of State, but the sentiment which he subsequently formulated into a principle, as mentioned by Champlain in his edition of 1632, already controlled the Court; and not without good reason, for republicanism and absolute monarchy were rapidly becoming belligerent issues across the channel. He expressed, as representative of the Crown, what had become the determinate policy of French sovereigns, for the States General had been dismissed in 1614, not to reassemble till the fatal meeting in 1789. The theory and practice of French colonial rule on the North American continent were thus in pronounced antithesis to those adopted by England; the rigidity of the French policy being doubtless accentuated by the encouragement which the English policy was seen to give to Democracy.

Champlain, instead of sailing, went with his family to Rouen to lodge his protest in person before the associates, and to frustrate the machinations of his old enemy, Boyer, whom he charged with fomenting all the trouble, though it is hardly necessary to invoke private spite to account for the attitude of the opponents of the company. The letter from Louis XIII. to the association, by which Champlain supported his claim, sufficiently explains the embarrassing position in which the company found itself, and the plan by which it sought to solve the dilemma. The letter complains of the laxity of the company in establishing families of work people and artisans at Quebec, and at other points in New France. It insists on the company's aiding Champlain in carrying out the King's orders to plant colonists, whose multiplication would inure to the royal advantage and the public good. At the same time the letter expresses the wish that all this be done without inconvenience to the company's servants or injury to the company's trade in furs. It implies that this costly and unproductive colonization is to be carried out by the company at its own expense; for it was the policy of France, from the time of Francis I., to relieve the treasury of outlay for colonial expansion by inducing individuals or companies to undertake the burden in return for trade concessions and privileges. While the French Govern-

ment assumed little, if any, pecuniary risk, it nevertheless hampered its colonies by a rigorous paternal regime, allowing no initiative or real freedom of action to those who took part in the colonial enterprise, whether as incorporators in France, or as servants and colonists abroad.

As the bureaucratic system of Old France was to be transferred with all its blighting effects to New France, Champlain determined, at least, to protect his own position, appealed from the company to the Council, followed the Court to Tours, and secured an edict confirming him in the command of Quebec, and of the other places in New France, and prohibiting the association, under pains and penalties, from hindering him in the performance of his functions.

The Prince of Condé's Viceroyalty had been rather a sinecure, for he had been in prison during most of his term of office. He celebrated his release by giving one-half of a year's salary to the Recollets as a contribution to their seminary at Quebec. As his substitute, the Maréchal de Thémines, seems to have interested himself in nothing but the salary attached to the office, Champlain must have desired a more active, if not more influential, viceroy. One was found in the person of Monsieur de Montmorency, Admiral of France. The Prince de Condé was willing to resign for a consideration, and the Admiral was willing to pay that consideration of 11,000 écus. The bargain was made through Sieur Vignier as intermediary, and the appointment was confirmed by the King. At the same time Monsieur Dolu, Grand Audienier (Chief Usher) of France, was appointed Intendant, his functions being to conduct the civil government of the colony and to watch the Governor. there were in the colony fifty or sixty people. They had to rule them a King as supreme, his Viceroy in France, a Governor as Lieutenant of the Viceroy in Canada, and an Intendant to assist or thwart the Governor as the case might be. To control their fate, minister to their religious wants, and do missionary work among the Indians, the company supported five friars, though their charter required them to maintain six. Fifteen to twenty, therefore, of the population, under pay of the company, occupied high civil or ecclesiastical positions.

Champlain had now been a year and a half in France, perhaps not altogether unwillingly, as his young wife, to whom he had been betrothed while she was yet a girl, had now attained full womanhood, and this was the first time in his roving life he had enjoyed a taste of domestic tranquility. Pontgravé, who had sailed against his protest, as his colleague, had spent the winter in Canada, and Champlain was doubtless anxious to join him for more reasons than one. To show his sincerity as a promoter of colonization, he determined to take his wife with him. When he was on the point of sailing from Honfleur in the spring of 1620, the company made a final effort to cripple his authority, but an appeal to the Viceroy and Intendant brought a categorical answer, confirming him in full authority over all property, except the merchandise belonging to the company, and over all the persons and the actions of the company's factors and clerks, in their capacity as the company's servants. The King promised the armament for a fort which Champlain was instructed to erect at Quebec, presumably at the company's expense, and he was authorized, if the company proved recalcitrant, to seize their fleet, though with what force of men he was to make the seizure is not clear. To encourage him in his task of establishing the royal authority and spreading the Catholic religion, the King wrote him a letter on the 7th of May, 1620, over his own sign manual. Sailing with his family a few days later, he arrived, after a tedious voyage of two months, at Tadousac, which was still the principal port of New France, where both passengers and freight were generally transferred for the upper St. Lawrence. His brother-in-law, Boullé, had preceded him in a vessel commanded by Sieur Deschesnes, and as he was not aware of his sister's intention to accompany her husband, the meeting was doubly joyful. The news he told Champlain was that they had surprised and nearly captured two ships of La Rochelle, which were trading illicitly with the Indians near Bic, and committing the indiscretion of exchanging firearms for furs. The provoking intruders had, however, proved themselves the better sailors and made their escape. As the trade of the St. Lawrence below Quebec had been decreed free, the irregularity of these Huguenot

skippers from La Rochelle probably consisted in their sailing without a license or some form of register, a latitude in trade which there is reason to believe may have been curtailed, as by the Duc de Ventadour's commission in 1625 to Champlain, he was authorized to seize all vessels trading to the west of Gaspé. Again and again the iniquity of these enterprising but heretical intruders moves both Champlain and the Recollet Fathers to wrath.

After his two years absence from Quebec, Champlain found the *habitation* in a woefully ruinous state. The rain poured through the roof, the wind whistled between cracks in the walls, the store-room was about to fall in, and one of the wings had collapsed bodily; and yet this was to be the abode of the delicately nurtured wife, whom he had brought to the country as an inducement to others to follow. Madame Champlain's brother, Boullé, had with Pontgravé spent the previous winter there; but the excuse for the neglected condition of the place was that the few mechanics had been withdrawn for the purpose of erecting the monastery, which the Recollet Fathers were building on the banks of the St. Charles, half a league away, and in putting up a house for Guillaume Hébert on the top of the cliff. However, though the roof of the château was leaky, he was the Lieutenant of the Viceroy of all New France, and therefore on the day after his arrival he caused his commission, as Lieutenant of the new Viceroy, to be publicly read by Commissionaire Guers, with the accompaniment of cannon, after the Recollet Fathers had said mass in the little chapel. The whole population of fifty shouted "*Vive le roi!*" whereupon Champlain took possession of the *habitation* and the country in the name of the Viceroy, the Duc de Montmorency.

Thus Canada passed from the status of a mere trading domain of a commercial company, like the Hudson Bay Company, into a royal colony. During the two years of his absence it would seem that no increase of population had taken place. On the contrary, death had been busy with the little colony. Good Father du Plessis, to whom the little settlement owed its deliverance from the Indian massacre in the spring of 1618, died in August of the following year. He had recently returned from France, whither he had gone with Father Huet on the boot-

less mission of urging the company to send out settlers. And poor Anne Hébert, who had been married to Etienne Jonquest with much festivity, so recently as the autumn of 1617, had died in childbed. It was a cheerless home-coming to Champlain to be greeted by death, decay, indolence and indifference. The only energetic denizens of the little hamlet were the Recollets; yet he can hardly disguise his irritation at the workmen having been withdrawn from the public *habitation* to help in building the monastery for the friars. They had planted it far away, so that in solitude and silence they might be undisturbed in their devotions. The Fathers had acquired a site about half a league from the *habitation* the summer previously, near the Little River, as it was then and is still called, and not far distant from the creek where Cartier had moored his fleet in the autumn of 1535.

The land on which the friars built was a tract of pasture which that enterprising colonist Hébert had cleared on the right bank of the St. Charles about two miles from its mouth. This the Fathers had acquired from him in exchange for a clearance they had made near the *habitation* in the summer of 1619. Here they commenced collecting building material for their convent, a work in which they were heartily aided by the large-minded Pontgravé, notwithstanding that he was a Huguenot; but the foundation stone was not laid until the 3rd of the following June, when the ceremony was performed by Father d'Olbeau, as substitute for Father Jamay, the Commissaire, who had not yet returned from France. Thus, when Champlain came out with his family in July, building operations were active, and more public interest was taken in the progress of the convent than in the prospects of the colony. The work on the mission house must have been pressed, inasmuch as on August 15 Father Jamay gives a detailed account of the building to his patron, the Grand Vicaire de Pontoise. It was a two-storied wooden building, 34 feet by 22 feet, with a capacious cellar. The lower story was divided by a stone partition wall into two rooms, one of which served temporarily as a chapel, the other as a kitchen and refectory. The upper story was divided into one large and four small rooms with provisions for



The General Hospital on the Site of the Recollet Monastery.

isolation in a sixth. There were stone towers for defense at three corners, and a demilune of heavy timbers before the entrance. The Little River flowed in front of the convent, and two streams whose sources were close together to the north, and which flowed to the east and west of the building, were by deepening made to serve as a fosse; and thus this primitive abode of the ministers of Jesus repeated, to the great delight of the Grand Vicaire, all the features of a medieval monastery—a retreat for devotion, a seminary, a hospital, and a stronghold. It was, however, unlike most of the old world monasteries in their decadence, for the Fathers were determined to set their converts an example as industrious agriculturists. The building was then, as the General Hospital was till recently, in a swamp. This they endeavored to drain by ditches so laid out that they would also serve as a means of defense. By the autumn of this first season they had of live stock a mule, a female ass, a number of pigs, one pair of geese, fourteen fowls, and eight ducks. They hoped within two years to be able to raise enough grain and pigs to support twelve persons on a diet of bread, beer, and salt pork. These would be supplemented by fish from the river and moose meat, which the Indians during the winter would exchange for a trifle of bread.

The Recollets transferred this property to Bishop Saint Vallier, in 1690, for the General Hospital. That institution, therefore, marks definitely for us to-day the site of this monastery, which absorbed so much of the energies of the good Fathers in 1620 and 1621. The building was intended and planned for the double purpose of enabling the friars to live in conformity with the rules of their order, and of serving as a seminary for the education of Indian boys. Its distance from the settlement had certain advantages; but as the journey to and fro in winter was somewhat trying, some of the friars continued to live in the Parish House attached to the little church near the habitation; for the Fathers then and subsequently were empowered by the brief of Guido Bentivolio, Nuncio of Paul V., to perform most of the functions of the secular clergy in New France—to preach, baptize, hear confessions and to administer the sacraments of the Eucharist, marriage and extreme unction. They changed the name of the Little River from

that of St. Croix, given it by Cartier, to St. Charles, in honor of their liberal patron, Charles de Boues, Grand Vicaire de Pontoise. He and the Sieur Houel were their most influential financial supporters, and contributions from other sources were not lacking; but the Fathers never ceased to complain of the refusal of adequate support from the associates of the company, who evidently considered that the provision they were compelled to make for the support of six friars was a sufficient contribution. The Grand Vicaire, writing in 1621, promises from the Sieur Houel 200 écus annually towards the support of six Indian children in the seminary of St. Charles, and agrees to supplement that with a like sum from his own purse, and hopes to send them in the following year 1,000 écus from other contributors. The Sieur Houel also offers to ship them 1,200 pounds of provisions. By that time the Church, the Monastery and the Seminary of Notre Dame des Anges had been built, and high hopes were entertained of the future utility of the establishment—hopes which unfortunately were very slow of realization. It was a time when there was much enthusiasm among thinking men, as well as among the pious, bred of the hope that European civilization would transform the wild tribes of the earth into refined specimens of humanity. Montaigne, in his essay entitled “Des Coches,” reflects on what Spanish greed had done in comparison with what might have been effected by a different treatment of the aborigines; if, that is to say, Europeans had set them an example of every virtue instead of initiating them into every vice. The attempt was honestly made by the ecclesiastics of New France, and, had Montaigne lived to see the results, he would have admitted that there was some error in the premises from which he drew his hopeful conclusion. The monks were doubtless doing a good work, and doing it from motives that put to shame the sordid aims of the mercantile company. But Champlain may be excused if he fretted over the abstraction of so much labor and energy from the realization of his own plans, which, as Lieutenant of the Viceroy and no longer a mere agent of the company, his heart was now bent on carrying out.

Heretofore he had been the most zealous of traders, combining

in some mysterious way the function of Governor of the colony and agent of the fur company ; but his recent experience in France had satisfied him of the incompatibility of such dual responsibilities, and henceforth he stands forth in the simple character of Governor. In this capacity we have seen him on his arrival proclaimed Lieutenant of the Viceroy, with such formality and pageantry as his slender command of accessories would permit. This done he immediately despatched Guers, who had acted as clerk and herald in the ceremony of his inauguration, to Three Rivers, to watch and report the proceedings of Pontgravé and the company's clerk, while he busied himself in repairing the *habitation* and in planning a fort, which he had from the first foreseen to be essential to the security of the settlement, but the building of which the company from short-sightedness or stinginess had persistently opposed. The situation he selected was on the very brow of the cliff overlooking the *habitation*, and yet commanding the river where its channel was the narrowest.* It was so well chosen that it was retained as the site of the palace of the Governors of New France and of Great Britain until destroyed by fire in 1834. It was therefore the scene of many of the most dramatic incidents in the history of America. Durham Terrace replaced the old Château, and the eastern end of Dufferin Terrace now occupies part of the same space. Champlain's first fort, built on the site of the future Château, was of wood, and being designed on a plan commensurate with his very modest means, was adequate only as a defence against savage foes; though even then he had apprehensions of an attack from the rapacious English. And so the summer passed, the friars building their convent, the Governor his castle. The two buildings represented powers which should have worked harmoniously for the public good, but which were preparing instead for a conflict which was to last as long as French rule itself.

Pontgravé went to France with his cargo of peltries, accompanied by Roumier, his under clerk, leaving Jean Caumont dit le

* Some authorities are inclined to place the first fort where the Grand Battery now commences, but there is no evidence that Montmagny's reconstructed fort was on a different site from that chosen by Champlain.

Mons in charge of the store. He did not, however, sail from Tadousac until he had forwarded Champlain all the available stores for the support of the little colony of sixty souls, of whom ten were still employed at the monastery at the expense of the Friars. The Church, the State and a trading company were thus the only active, independent elements. Of individual enterprise or personal initiative we hear nothing.

The following year, 1621, was not marked by any event of great permanent interest, but it was a year of intense excitement at Quebec, owing to the fact that Champlain, as Governor, came into collision with the old company, which found it difficult to accept its reduced position as a mere trader, destitute of political authority. To complicate the position, the Duc de Montmorency gave a charter to another company, composed of members of purer faith, and it was hoped of greater colonizing zeal. As might have been expected, the old company and the new did not harmonize at first. The season's operations opened by the departure of le Mons, the company's clerk, from Quebec for Tadousac with a cargo of merchandise intended for barter with the Indians. On his way, however, he met Captains Dumay and Guers, armed with commissions from the Viceroy, and supported by five sailors, three soldiers and a boy. Having been warned by them of the creation of the new company and the cancellation of the rights of the old, he could do nothing but turn back.

Dumay and Guers were the bearers of quite a batch of letters to the Governor. The King himself complimented his servant, and promised arms and munitions. Another was from Monsieur de Puisieux, Secrétaire des commandements du Roi, informing him that it was at the solicitation of Monsieur Dolu, the Intendant, that the arms were being furnished. Then Monsieur the Duc himself wrote that, for various reasons, the old company, composed of merchants of Rouen and St. Malo, had been dissolved, and he had solicited the Sieur de Caen and his nephew and certain associates to aid Champlain in sustaining the authority of the King, and that Monsieur Dolu would give him particulars as to the arrangement made with the new company. He assured him, however, that his personal position would not be damaged.

Monsieur Dolu's letter was much more emphatic. It instructed him to seize the merchandise and property of the old company, as a penalty for their failure to carry out the colonization conditions of their contract, and to aid the de Caens, who, though not of the true faith, would, it was hoped, be induced to repent of the error of their ways and become Catholics. He received still other letters from Villemenon, Intendant to the Admiralty, assuring him that the de Caens would sail with two good ships fully armed and provisioned. Had the de Caens themselves been the bearers of the letters, and had they come prepared to back their privileges and pretensions by ample force of arms, Champlain's course would have been clear and easy. Or had Dumay and Guers prudently delivered their letters and message to him alone, and kept silence as to the success of the agitation against the old company in France, Champlain would have allowed its agents to continue their operations until he was strong enough to carry out his categorical instructions. But Dumay and Guers had boasted of the commission even before reaching Quebec; and after they arrived there, the employees of the new company twitted those of the old, not only with loss of service, but with probable forfeiture of arrears of pay, till there arose a little revolution in the hamlet. Champlain was powerless. He therefore not only assured the officials of the old company of protection from personal loss, but granted them permission to continue trading operations until the express commands of the King were communicated by de Caen himself. On the other hand, Dumay and Guers had brought out a cargo of merchandise for exchange, and this they insisted on their right to barter for furs. To have granted their request would have brought matters to a crisis. In refusing it Champlain pointed out to them that, if the decision of the question of exclusive trade should be decided in Council in their favor, then the skins forfeited by the old company would be ample compensation for any loss the new company might sustain by mere postponement of operations. Having thus compromised with the opposing factions, he sent Dumay down the river to meet de Caen and advise him of what had happened. But, just as le Mons had a fortnight before deemed it prudent to retire when on his

way to Tadousac, he met Dumay and Guers with their boatload of armed men, so now Dumay hastened back to warn Champlain that his old comrade and friend, Pontgravé, was close at hand in the "Salemande," a vessel of 150 tons, with a crew of sixty-five men, probably bent on sustaining the rights of the old company. To oppose Pontgravé Champlain could muster only a crew of eighteen, most of whom were at Tadousac and not at Quebec, and a possible contingent of some twelve additional men. These were all he could rely upon, as the rest of the colony was dependent on the old company. It was clearly therefore more politic to negotiate than to fight. But in order to be in a position—as Champlain expressed it—to *parler à cheval*, he manned the unfinished fort on the crest of the hill, with Dumay, his brother-in-law, eight of his own men, and a force borrowed from the Recollet Fathers, while he induced four of the company's men to carry provisions and ammunition up the steep hill to provision his fortress. He himself with his wife awaited developments in the old *habitation* on the beach, guarded by three of Dumay's crew, four servants of the Recollets, Guers, his clerk, and some of the inhabitants.

On the 7th, a schooner hove in sight. Father George, with M. Guers, met the new arrivals on the beach. They proved to be three clerks of the old company, so peacefully disposed that Champlain need not have called his men to arms and raised the drawbridge. They gave the latest news from France, namely, that the old company had protested against the cancellation of its rights before the term of its concession had expired; that their plea was still under deliberation by the Council, but that the Admiralty had refused to give their ships clearance. They were not a little surprised at the hostile attitude of Champlain, as they themselves were not only peacefully disposed, but prepared to supply the colony with provisions, of which it stood in direst need. Under such circumstances, the natural course was to welcome them. They demanded that the habitation and the old company's stock of beaver skins be turned over to them, but these Champlain emphatically declined to surrender. He allowed them, however, to proceed to Three Rivers, to the yearly fair, with

their merchandise. When they were fairly gone, Champlain again sent Dumay down the river to apprise de Caen, who by his tarrying had left him in such an embarrassing position, of what had occurred. In a few days—on the 13th of June—instead of de Caen, Champlain's old comrade, Pontgravé, appeared, not with his war ship and numerous crew, but in a small vessel loaded with merchandise for Indian traffic. Champlain having expressed his surprise that, knowing the hostility against the company, and being aware of de Caen's mission, he had left his ship at Tadousac, Pontgravé assured him that, if the decision of Council were against his company, and de Caen came out with indisputable authority to confiscate their property, he would not resist. He assented to Champlain's course in retaining the furs and the warehouse as a pledge of the company's fulfilment of the conditions of the charter, or as a forfeit in case of their failure. Equitable terms having thus been arranged between the friends, Pontgravé followed the other employees of the company to the rendezvous at Three Rivers with his boatload of goods.

A month of quietness ensued before the forerunner of de Caen appeared with a message begging Champlain to join him, which, however, Champlain declined to do, and praying him to advise the Indians that he was coming with a choice selection of merchandise. Two days afterward Roumier, a clerk of the old company, but now in the employ of the new, followed. He brought letters from the Intendant, Dolu, Villemenon and de Caen. They informed him that the King had decreed that both the companies should be permitted to trade during the year 1621, each sending to the St. Lawrence the one vessel that had already sailed (or which was ready to sail), but that no ship was to sail from any French port without proper clearance papers, under severe pains and penalties. The two companies were to contribute equally towards the support of the captain, soldiers, priests and residents in the *habitation*. Pontgravé had sailed in ignorance or in defiance of the clause which imposed confiscation of his ship and goods in case of irregularity in his clearance papers, and there was therefore technical ground for proceeding against him. But it rested with Champlain, and not with de Caen, to take action. To

avert trouble, Champlain induced Father George le Baillif, a man evidently of tact and moderation, to descend the river on the 17th of July and try to dissuade de Caen from taking any rash steps, and also to assuage the anger of Fathers Paul and Guillaume who had a grievance against Pontgravé. Father George set about his delicate mission with laudable despatch, but without much success, for on the 24th he was back from Tadousac with the disquieting message that de Caen was bent on seizing Pontgravé's ship, but would delay doing so until Champlain should arrive, provided he did not tarry. Champlain was unwilling to leave the habitation at the mercy of the two factions into which the population was divided; so ill provided was he, moreover, that he had not a boat of his own fit for a journey. As it was evident, however, that only he could persuade de Caen to pursue a moderate course, he sent to Pontgravé to borrow a boat. Pontgravé not only accommodated him, but came down from Three Rivers, ignorant of the danger which threatened him personally and his property. There was something charming in the candor and mutual trustfulness of these two noble men. They had endured hardship and peril together, and neither could think evil of the other or suspect the other of sinister motives.

Champlain was met by de Caen at the Pointe Aux Alouettes. The first interview was friendly. The director of the new company expressed unwavering allegiance to the Viceroy, and recognized Champlain and his lieutenancy. When they reached Tadousac he offered Champlain the hospitality of his ship, but Champlain, wishing to be neutral, preferred putting up with the accommodation his own schooner afforded. Then the quarrel broke out with great acrimony. De Caen claimed to have authoritative but private instructions, which he refused, however, to exhibit. In virtue of these he demanded the seizure of Pontgravé's ship, to be used in operations against the illicit traders, the Rochellois. Champlain pointed out that the new company and its agents had three boats manned by crews of 150 men, two being of ample size to patrol the river and gulf, and destroy all marauders, while they were quite unable to protect themselves. Then Father George took up the argument,

but all to no avail. If de Caen's only reason for seizing Pontgravé's ship was to use it against the Rochelle traders, Champlain offered to take command of it himself, provided de Caen would supply the crew. This proposal was rejected. De Caen simply wanted the ship, and as he had ample force—about three times as many men as the whole male population of the colony—he determined to seize it. Thereupon Champlain took it under his protection, but this empty assertion of sovereignty availed nothing. De Caen warned Champlain he would appropriate the vessel, and Champlain, not wishing to come into open collision with a man so able to coerce him and the colony, conveniently went on a canoeing expedition up the Saguenay while the high handed act was being carried into effect. Having attained his object, de Caen was willing to treat with Champlain as to contributing his share of men and provisions for the *habitation*. He returned Pontgravé's ship, pretending that it was worthless for war purposes, but demanded and received 1,700 beaver skins in return for provisions which he claimed he had sold to the old company. The claim thus made at the point of the sword could not be refused, so Father George paid it. Instead, however, of fulfilling his promise to send twenty-five men, as his contingent, to the *habitation*, with provisions for their support during the coming winter, he sent only eighteen. The old company supplied the deficiency.

While de Caen had been wasting time in argument and warlike boasting, the rival traders had been busy. A ship was lying at Isle Verte, not fifteen miles distant, bartering away its cargo for furs with the Indians. It slipped away the day before he discovered its presence, and all he found was an abandoned palisade, which the traders had erected for defense if attacked. But Champlain's annoyances were not yet over. Besides sending him some provisions for winter support, de Caen forwarded a quantity of arms and ammunition. Believing it impossible, after he had inspected these, that the King and the Viceroy could have so inadequately fulfilled their promise to supply him with weapons, he had a sworn inventory taken of the arms. The document is curious, as being the first bill of warlike material furnished to a

fortress destined to become so famous in the world's history. It enumerates twelve halberds with handles of whitewood painted black; two arquebuses, fitted with wheel locks, five to six feet long; two arquebuses to be fired with matches, of the same length; fifty-two pounds of good matches; one hundred and eighty-seven pounds of worthless matches; fifty common picks; two petards of cast iron, weighing forty-four pounds each; one butterfly-tent; two helmets and one axe; sixty-four sets of pikemen's weapons, without armlets; two barrels of musket balls, weighing 439 pounds. In addition there were handed over to Champlain two barrels of gunpowder for cannon, and six barrels of musket balls, weighing 2,479 pounds. But Isaac Halard, the new company's clerk, who delivered them, could not say whether they were consigned to Champlain by the French Government or contributed by de Caen himself. Muskets had been introduced into France about 1575, but there were none in the consignment, and what powder there was was coarse grained, for cannon—none for firearms.

Champlain and the whole colony must have experienced a feeling of blank despair over the heartlessness and falsity of the Government and the avarice of the trading company. Well might he say that he "could not imagine it possible his Majesty should have sent us such a sorry lot of weapons for our defense, especially after doing him the honor of himself promising by letter an ample supply, which promise was confirmed by Monseigneur Puisieux." On August 29, de Caen left Tadousac with his cargo of furs and the execrations of the whole community. He was followed on September 7 by Pontgravé and Father George, who carried with him a bill of grievances from the colony. The document is given in full by Sagard, who says: "The Sieur de Champlain and all the principal French inhabitants of Canada" (whence we may infer that there were at that period other foreigners in the colony beside the unfortunate Scotchman who had been summarily carried off by Satan's imps), "desirous of finding some relief from the confusion which distracted the colony, had called a public meeting. It deputed the Reverend Father George to make to his Majesty their humble remonstrances, trusting to his well-known prudence

to do in their behalf whatever he might consider to be most conducive to the welfare and advancement of the colony." The meeting then adopted the following resolution: "Know All Men, That on the 18th of August in the Year of Grace 1621, in the Reign of, etc., etc., with the consent of the said Lieutenant, a general meeting of all the French inhabitants of New France was called for the purpose of devising some relief from the ruin and desolation which threatened this whole country, and for finding some means of preserving the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion in its purity, the authority of the King in its inviolability, etc.; it has therefore been Resolved, unanimously, to choose a representative from this meeting as a deputy from the whole company who will lay before the feet of his Majesty in all humility a statement of the condition of the country, and will describe the disorders which have distracted it, notably during this year of 1621. And that this deputy also visit his Lord the Viceroy in order to explain to him the state of disorder and solicit his support in their complaint." The meeting selected Father George to lay their cause before the King, and authorized him to employ, if necessary, one or two advocates to plead their cause before the Council and the courts, and take measures to secure the safety of their delegate while engaged in prosecuting his mission. The resolution drawn up by the *Sieur Baptiste Guers*, Commissaire, is a masterpiece of legal verbiage, and concludes with the following: "Given at Quebec, la Nouvelle France, over the signature of the principal inhabitants, acting for the whole, who, for the purpose of further authentication, have prayed the Very Reverend Father in God, *Denis Jamay*, Commissaire des Religieux in this land, to affix his ecclesiastical seal on the date and year hereinbefore named." Signed—*Champlain*; *Frères*, *Denis Jamay*, Commissaire; *Joseph Le Caron*; *Hébert*, Procureur du Roi; *Gilbert Courseron*, Lieutenant du Prevost; *Boullé*, *Pierre Reye*, *Le Tardif*, *J. Le Groux*, *P. Desportes*, *Nicolas*, Greffier of the jurisdiction of Quebec, and clerk of the assembly; *Guers*, Commissionné de Monseigneur le Viceroy.

The calling of a town meeting and the titles affixed to the signatures express eloquently the effort *Champlain* had made to

create out of the scanty and incongruous elements with which he had to deal an organized civil community. There must have been a court of justice of which Nicolas was clerk, Champlain himself probably being judge. Nicolas was therefore by right, and probably by virtue of his education, selected as secretary of the meeting. The name which follows those of the Governor and the priests was that of Hébert, the first well-to-do immigrant, who had been now three years in the country, and whom Champlain had appointed Procureur du Roi, Crown Counsel. Then came that of Courseron, Lieutenant du Prevost—in ordinary parlance, the constable. Small as the population yet was, the machinery of civilization had been introduced, and the people were being educated in its use. This miniature civil government Champlain must have organized after his proclamation of the sovereignty of the French Crown, under himself as Lieutenant, the previous spring.

The stagnation of the colony, and now an acute business rivalry worse than stagnation, were, of course, primarily due to the colonial policy of the mother land. The French Crown, in refusing to incur expense in fostering colonization, followed the lines laid down for Henry IV. by his famous minister, the Duc de Sully, who in these colonization schemes could not see any immediate profit to the treasury. Worried by his master's extravagances and shameless expenditure on his pleasures, he classed his colonization enterprises in the same category, for in 1603 he said: "The colony that was sent to Canada this year was among the number of those things of which I disapprove. No riches can come from the new world north of the 40th latitude. His Majesty gave the command of this expedition to the Sieur de Monts."

England, Holland and France all adopted and followed the same policy. All three created trading companies to develop the resources of those sections of the North American continent which they severally undertook to colonize, and to secure possession to the parent State by actual occupation of the appropriated slice. But the conditions of the original charters varied as widely as the fortunes of the companies. The political tendencies of the parent State were expressed in the original instruments, and the result-

ing companies, with their colonial progenies, continued to reflect more or less accurately the development of ideas in Europe. Exception may be claimed in the case of the Dutch colonies on the Hudson and the Delaware, which hardly survived long enough to outlive the defects of their origin in a close, highly privileged trading company, and to grow into a political community deriving life and inspiration from the parent State.

Despite the liberal representative government which the Dutch enjoyed at home, their colony of New Netherlands, created under the charter of the West India Company in 1623, was as completely an appanage of this trading company as was New France of the selfish commercial associations which for half a century carried on the farce of pretending to colonize it. The directors used their knowledge and influence to secure, by purchase from the Indians, large tracts of the best and most available lands within the sphere of the company's operations. Then these *padrones* imported laborers to cultivate their estates, but the immigrants were servants—not independent adventurers, bent on self-betterment by acquiring and improving their own lands. It was no more to the interest of the Dutch Trading Company, whose article of export was furs, to fell the forests and settle the lands, with consequent destruction of the fur-bearing animals, than it was to the advantage of the Canadian trading companies, or subsequently of the Hudson Bay Company, to destroy the sources of their wealth. It was nearly twenty years after the first settlement of the Hudson before any pretense of popular government was allowed to the colonists of the North or South rivers, or before the monopoly of the company was abrogated. Then colonists of every hue poured in, for the population was augmented, not only from Europe, but by the discontented from the English colonies lying to the north and to the south.

The original Virginia Company was an English trading company, but organized on very different lines from the French and the Dutch. An Act was passed in 1606, incorporating two companies under one charter; the one, the London Company, for founding a colony in south Virginia; the other, the Plymouth Company, for founding a like colony in north Virginia. The

first in the field was the Plymouth Company, which, under the leadership of Sir John Popham, Sir Fernando Gorges, and others, equipped the "Richard of Plymouth," and made a landing on the coast of Maine. The death of Topham led to the speedy abandonment of the enterprise, and the north Virginia scheme was never again undertaken under the company's auspices. The second detachment sailed to plant a colony in south Virginia in December of the same year. The endeavors of the London Company to establish a plantation in south Virginia, if not successful in the manner contemplated by the founders, was fruitful of consequences which the most far-seeing could hardly have contemplated. The charter was the first colonial constitution conceived by English statesmen. If it emanated from the fanciful brain of James I., its provisions must certainly have been suggested by a more liberal mind than that of a Stuart. The colonists were not to be endowed with representative government as we understand it; but, while a court in London, nominated by the Crown, was to exercise control of the several plantations, which might compose so many distinct colonies within the sphere of the company's vast domain, extending from the 34th to the 45th parallel of north latitude, each colony might elect its own council. The company was a trading company, organized with hope of gain, but in the hearts of some of its members a desire to curb the power of Spain was uppermost, while others were moved by a missionary spirit.

In this first attempt to raise a child of the State at a distance from the parent, far more liberty and rights of self-control were given than we have seen bestowed on the few colonists of New France, either in Acadia or on the St. Lawrence. The settlers of the Virginia Company and their children forever were to enjoy all the liberties, franchises and immunities enjoyed by Englishmen in England, but subject to a fatal flaw: "The land was to be held by the Crown, as in our manor of East Greenwich in the County of Kent, in free and common socage only, and *in capite*." As constituted, the first Virginia colony was therefore a communistic community. There

were to be no individual interests, but all produce was to go into a common stock in which the colonists and the promoters were to share. All personal motive and personal exertion were to be subordinate to the common good. In this case, as in such communities generally, the labor of the many simply went to augment the profits of those who, by fair means or foul, obtained control. This was one, but only one, cause of the failure of the original company. The personnel of the colony was composed of material ill fitted for pioneer life. Among the 105 left by Captain Newport on James Island, 29 are designated as gentlemen, and 12 as laborers. It had been better if these numbers had been reversed. The site for the settlement was ill chosen. A low, swampy island was selected on the James River, and on it Jamestown was founded. All that remains of it is a crumbling wall in a farm, with whose mould is mingled the dust of thousands of early fever-stricken settlers. It is a sad story of misrule and bad judgment. Through the energy and tact of John Smith the colony was barely saved from annihilation till the arrival, in 1608, of Archer and Radcliffe with 500 fresh visionaries. This meant, however, 500 more mouths to feed, and famine devastated the colony from 1608 to 1610. Nevertheless, despite the evil fate which befell the unfortunate laborers as well as the financial backers of the company of 1606, so enthusiastic were people of all classes in England in favor of the Virginia scheme, that, when the company was reorganized in 1609, not less than 659 persons of all ranks and professions and 66 trade guilds became purchasers of stock. Herein we see once more a marked contrast to the indifference of the French people over their colonization ventures. The new company enjoyed a wider measure of self-government, but prosperity did not actually dawn till, mainly through the exertion of Sir Edwin Sandys, a grant was obtained in November, 1618, of "The Great Charter or Commission of Privileges, Orders and Laws." Under it the land of the colony, heretofore held in common, could be held in severalty, whereby individual incentive, or—let us admit with the socialists—individual selfishness, was called into play. At the same time a representative government, for the first time in the New World,

was conferred on the settlers. In 1620 the colony passed from the control of the company to that of the Crown, so far as appointing the officials of the government was concerned. Thus in the same year, 1618, in which Champlain was wearily and vainly arguing with the associates to carry out their promises of colonization on the St. Lawrence, and trying with no better success to induce the government to compel the company to fulfill its pledges, Virginia, after twelve years of more terrible vicissitudes than had befallen the little band of traders and traffickers on the St. Lawrence, was about to inaugurate the most momentous experiment in free government ever made. Mark the result: by the date—1622—which we have reached in our history of the Quebec colony, the population of Virginia had grown to about four thousand, while that of Canada was only sixty.

Already for two years another group of Englishmen had been struggling for life on the barren shores of Massachusetts. They had been impelled to seek the New World by the imperative craving for freedom. The motives, therefore, which had emboldened them to land and undertake the almost hopeless task of winning an existence from the Plymouth rocks, were of a higher order than those which inspired the adventurers of the James River. Trade and its attendant gain had not been the purpose of this migration. But, like the Huguenots of France, they brought to bear on business the courage which had sustained them in venturing to differ from accepted opinions; and the same independence of thought which impelled them to frame for themselves a new ecclesiastical polity made them the most shrewd and intelligent merchants of the Western Continent. In politics they brought over from England, and from the Dutch Republic, views and sympathies the very reverse of those of the settlers on the St. Lawrence, and far in advance of those of the majority of their countrymen on the other side of the Atlantic. These intensely Puritanic and strenuous groups, originally gathered around their churches and pastors, developed into the most democratic people of the whole world. We see, therefore, the three communities, or four—if we include the Dutch—working out simultaneously and side by side the prob-

lems of colonization. The differences they exhibited in character, methods, and results afford most instructive contrasts. The French in Canada, under a paternal government and a despotic church, fettered by the privileges bestowed upon one commercial company after another, never seemed to fret seriously under the yoke, and certainly never struggled for independence, but developed on the other hand certain distinctive national traits which became so ingrained in their character that they still not only exist, but constitute a force which it is unwise to overlook or underestimate. The English in opening Virginia, while moved by a fierce determination to check the expansion of Spain and the spread of the Spanish ecclesiastical system, were at the same time trying an experiment in sociology which failed so emphatically that it never was repeated. This stirring seventeenth century was, indeed, less an age of renaissance than of revolution, when men were more ready than they have ever been since to carry theories into actual practice. And so the Virginia colonists, having freedom of action and being endowed with common sense and a rugged though teachable spirit, made haste to abandon their communistic theories and practices as soon as these were found unprofitable. They still remained more ardent political theorists than even their Puritanical fellow colonists in the North. They sustained during colonial times a bold opposition to all infringement of what they considered their rights as British citizens; and, when the rupture came, impressed indelibly their theories of government on the constitution of the new nation. They were the furthest away from Canada, and therefore their example was less obnoxious than that of New England to the Canadian governors and the Canadian clergy; but, from the time of Argall's piratical descent on the Jesuit colonies of Acadia till the conquest of Canada, there was in Virginia as uncompromising a hatred of the French system of arbitrary government and of the French ecclesiastical policy as in Massachusetts itself.

In New England, bordering on Canada, we see a group of colonies created under the influence of political views at diametrical variance from those prevailing on the St. Lawrence, espec-

ally after the expulsion of the Huguenots; and with theological beliefs still more opposed to the creed of the French inhabitants, though inculcated by a clergy which would have exacted as implicit obedience as Rome itself, if their followers would but have yielded it. The colonies carried on a ceaseless struggle for untrammelled trade, untrammelled creed, untrammelled self-government; for everything, in fact, which was denied the French colonist, and which he was taught it was rebellion, if not sacrilege, to demand. The repeated raids on each other's territory, and the inhuman Indian reprisals made on both sides of the frontier, so envenomed the feeling of Canada and New England toward one another, that a dispassionate estimate of each other's character and aims was impossible. There was thus a ready made prejudice on the part of the French-Canadian against New England's method of government which effectually prevented his imbibing any New England notions of constitutional liberty. The wonderful prosperity of all these seaboard colonies, though contrasting strangely with his own poverty, does not seem, strange to say, to have excited the fear, still less the envy, of the French-Canadian, so completely were his will and intelligence in the keeping of his civil and ecclesiastical superiors. Nevertheless, little more than a century was to pass before descendants of the group of fever-stricken settlers in the swamps of James Island, and those of the shivering pilgrims of Plymouth rock, were to give the impulse to England's effort which substantially obliterated French power in the New World.

The same opposing tendencies prevailed in these neighboring colonies, French and English, from first to last: on one side of the line bureaucratic absolutism and meek submission to the rule of the mother country and her agents; on the other side of the line, opposition to all control, an almost unreasonable resentment against the remotest suggestion of domination by England, and a lurking determination, distinctly felt long before it was expressed, to throw off all allegiance to her. The English colonial and commercial policy was so narrow and unjust, from our present point of view, as to furnish plausible reasons for the ill-disguised desire for separation; but it was liberal in comparison

with that which France imposed on her colonies, and not more oppressive than much of England's sectional legislation at home. In fact the broader views which the opposition of the colonies to imperial selfishness impressed on the British system have in Britain itself borne riper and more wholesome fruit than in the lands where they had their birth.

NEW ENGLAND and NEW FRANCE—how different would have been the course of American history if these two communities, born almost simultaneously, could have declined to share the quarrels of the rest of the family, and determined to emulate each other in creating in this western world a new, if not a higher, civilization, adapted to the altered and more favorable circumstances under which they were placed. Unfortunately, their courses diverged from the very first. At every step of their history we come upon traces of the deplorable results of unchristian antagonism and bitter hatred, where there should have been only vigorous rivalry; of war, where the interests of both would have been best subserved by peace. The English colonists steered whither their immediate interests pointed, guided by no strong national affiliation to the mother country. To New France, Old France was from the first, and always remained, an inflexible though kindly disposed parent, imposing rules on her children and repressing all self-assertion as inexorably as a French father. The French-Canadian remained a Frenchman in a much closer sense than the American colonist remained an Englishman.

But to return. We left Champlain in the autumn of 1621, with his young wife in the tumble-down *habitation*, which must have been uncomfortably crowded, if most of the fifty inhabitants of the post lived within its walls. He had not progressed sufficiently with the Château of St. Louis to render it habitable, and the only separate house to which any reference is made is that of Hébert. With a proud reserve, Champlain seldom dwells on the hardships he was personally exposed to, and still less on those his family suffered. It was not until he was returning with his wife and household effects in the autumn of 1624, "after having hibernated," as he says, "almost five years in want and discomfort," that he vents his indignation at the neglect the

company had shown, not only of the comfort and safety of its employees, but of its own interests. During these years nothing of importance occurred, and the colony—still unworthy of the name—gained neither in numbers nor in public spirit. From the incidental references made to the company's affairs, we may judge that, from a mercantile point of view, they did not prosper; for the Basque and the Rochelle traders, as well as the Spaniards and Flemings, impudently and with impunity poached on their reserves, and with armed ships, which neither Champlain, as Governor, nor the officers of the company, had men or weapons to resist, defiantly sailed the gulf and river up to Grosse Island, fishing, and trading with the Indians. The feud between the two companies, which had worried Champlain in the summer of 1621, and been so disastrous to both concerns, was adjusted in France during the following winter by a consolidation; the old company accepting a five-twelfth interest in the new corporation. The servants of the company and the King's Lieutenants were meanwhile staving off famine through the skill of the Indian moose hunters, and Champlain was conciliating the savages; trying to tempt some of them to settle down as farmers; bribing their head men with titles and baubles; forming schemes of exploration in the interior which he was doomed never to conduct; and using his influence in the laudable task of healing the feud between the Iroquois and the Huron and Algonquin allies of the French.

The summer of 1622 was well advanced before his old comrade, Pontgravé, and Santein, a representative of de Caens and the new company, arrived with news of the consolidation of the old and the new companies. It was the middle of July before de Caen himself appeared, eager to reach Three Rivers lest the Indians should scatter, disappointed of their annual barter and their annual debauch. He left a certain Hébert in charge of his ship at Tadousac, where an unseemly dispute occurred about religious precedence, eminently characteristic of the time. The primitive apostolic rule of self-abasement and preference for the lower place did not characterize the practices of either party. It seems that de Caen, when on board, held prayers for his co-

religionists in the cabin, and the Catholics perforce performed their devotions in the forecastle. Hébert when left in charge, though himself a Catholic, adhered to de Caen's orders, but when de la Ralde came on board and assumed command, he reversed the order and turned the Huguenots into the forecastle to pray, and promoted the Catholics to the cabin. The dispute waxed hot, and the good offices of the Recollet Fathers were taxed to assuage the quarrel. As the opinion was decidedly expressed that Hébert's action was most unreasonable, the Huguenots had to cultivate their piety as best they could in the forecastle.

The gentle Recollets doubtless loved peace, but, if we may judge from Champlain's implications, they were a trifle too fond of their ease. We must, however, recollect that as this part of Champlain's narrative was probably edited by the Jesuits, the motives, if not the acts, of the monks may have been slightly distorted in the telling. What wonder if gossip abounded in the *habitation* during the long winter months! And what subject of gossip could be so racy as the lives and doings of the priests in their secluded monastery on the St. Charles! If they would isolate themselves, they must take the consequences, and be misunderstood and misrepresented. The Governor does, it is true, give them credit for being zealous gardeners; "but well they might be," he said, "for they had naught else to do but plant the seed and watch it grow." The company's servants were, however, even more incorrigible than the Fathers. They could not be induced either to sow or to pray, and it required much vehement urging to get them to do even such agricultural work as was necessary for the very preservation of the colony. In fact, no one was stirred by the impulse of self-interest, and few by religious enthusiasm. It was the company, the company, and only the company; and then, as now, to do as little as possible for, and extort as much as possible from, the soulless corporation was every one's end and aim.

Champlain himself, on the contrary, despite neglect and broken promises, was still enthusiastic. Pontgravé, who was spending the winter in Canada, was growing old and gouty, and during the whole spring of 1623 was a burden on Champlain's care, and the

recipient, we may well believe, of the tender ministrations of the Châtelaine of the *habitation*. The colony was not strengthened by the accession of any sturdy settlers, but two more priests, Father Nicholas Viel and Father Gabriel Sagard, arrived in 1623, and henceforth, for seven years we have in Sagard's history the testimony of an eye witness of what occurred on the St. Lawrence. It was the middle of July before de Caen reached Quebec, and as the Indians were already due on the upper river, he hurried west, accompanied by Champlain.

After their return to Quebec, de Caen and Champlain made a trip to Cap Tourmente, to inspect the beaver meadows, where they found natural hay enough for all the animals. A survey was next made of the old *habitation*. All their masons and carpenters were called in as experts, and the decision was unanimously reached that the woodwork of the old barn was irretrievably rotten, but that it was worth while making a door from without into the stone cellar, and abolishing the trap door from the magazine above, so as to protect the liquor in the wine cellar from illicit raids. With such trifles is the opening scene of the great drama of the French regime in the New World occupied.

Pontgravé returned with the Sieur de Caen to France in order to seek medical relief for his ailments. It was still only September, and therefore there was time to prepare plans of the new *habitation*, which was on a much more pretentious scale than the crazy structure it was to supplant, and to commence its erection. It was to have a frontage of 280 feet. It was to be defended by a tower at each corner, and a ravelin was to be constructed with its apex to the river. A ditch and drawbridge were to afford additional protection. It was never completed on Champlain's plan. Only two towers were erected. They stood on the present Rue de Notre Dame, one at the corner of the Rue sous le Fort, a few feet from the door of the present Church of Notre Dame des Victoires (see note to Laverdière's Champlain, page 1053). Meanwhile the castle of St. Louis was being erected on the cliff above the *habitation*. To facilitate passage between it and the *habitation* a better trail—for no cart had yet reached New France—was cut and graded, following probably the present Rue

de la Montagne. The winter was a long one. Material was collected for both the new *habitation* and the fort, which was approaching completion, when on the 20th of April a furious gust of wind carried away its roof bodily. The building was deemed too high, and Champlain therefore cut off the second story and made all haste to cover in the mutilated structure; for with the Château unroofed and a dilapidated *habitation*, he and the colony were in danger of being left without either fort or homestead; more especially as the same gale had torn down the gable of Hébert's house, the only other dwelling at the post then or up to the date of Sagard's leaving Canada. On the 6th of May, 1624, Champlain had dug the foundation of his new house, and the foundation stone was laid carefully with the date and the arms of France and those of Monsieur de Montmorency, and Champlain's name as Lieutenant. This stone, according to Ferland, was found while excavating on the site of the magazine, and was built in above the door of a house adjoining the Lower Town chapel. The house was burned in 1854, and the inscription disappeared.

On the 2nd of June a shallop came in with the news of the arrival of a sixty ton sloop at Tadousac, bringing much needed provisions. The captain said that de Caen was to follow, but to Champlain's annoyance he brought no mail from those in authority or from de Caen himself—only an unofficial letter from le Gendre, one of the unofficial partners of the company. It was the 11th of July before de Caen entered the harbor with two schooners laden with the usual goods for the Indian fairs. De Caen's lieutenant, de la Ralde, had been all the spring in the Gulf at his headquarters on the Island of Miscou, near the mouth of the Bay des Chaleurs, fishing and trafficking with the Indians there, while the more important branch of the company's business—the fur trade with the Indians of the Lakes—was being neglected, and in danger of slipping into hostile channels, to the serious detriment of the colony's prosperity.

Another cause of worry to the Governor was the conduct of the French who had accompanied the Hurons to their village the summer previous. One had died, eight had remained on

the Georgian Bay with Father Nicolas, and four only had returned with Father Joseph and Brother Gabriel, when they descended with their savage flock to seek some needful supplies. Du Vernay, who brought the first news, said that the French had been ill-used by the Indians, but Champlain attributed their treatment to their own misdeeds. Brother Gabriel Sagard himself arrived a fortnight later with a very serious indictment against his countrymen. The truth was that the French had taken Indian wives without the benediction of the Church, and were clearly lapsing, without any effort at self-restraint, into a life of semi-barbarism. Already about one-fifth of the whole French population had adopted Indian manners and Indian wives. De Caen was late this year in coming out with his merchandise, but before he returned to Old France he made a tour of inspection of the country around Cap Tourmente, the Island of Orleans and the adjacent islands, which he claimed had been given him by Monseigneur, though Monseigneur's lieutenant had not been notified of the grant. De Caen was not of the true faith, and in regenerated Canada his territorial claim, if ever put forth, was certainly not confirmed. Upon a careful consideration of the whole situation Champlain decided to return to France with his family, and make one more effort to have the colony established on a more satisfactory footing. He left the *habitation* so nearly completed that fifteen days' more work should have sufficed. The nephew of Sieur Guillaume de Caen, the Sieur Emery de Caen, was left in charge of the company's affairs, and Champlain named him his representative—Vice-Governor, therefore, over a grand total of fifty-one persons, including men, women, boys and children. Whether the Recollet Fathers were counted in this number is not stated—probably not. It was the 15th of August, 1624, when they sailed from Quebec.

According to Le Clercq, the Iroquois in this summer of 1624, during Champlain's absence, after taking a Recollet Brother—Father Oullain—prisoner at the trading rendezvous of the Sault St. Louis, followed their enemies, the Hurons, as far as Quebec. They were afraid to attack the fort, but ascended the St. Charles and assailed the Recollet monastery. They were beaten back with

a loss of seven or eight of their number, but two on the French side died of arrow wounds. Le Clercq tells us the story on the authority of Madame Couillard, who was in the fort at the time, but it is strange so notable an event should have been passed over by the contemporaneous commentators—Champlain and Sagard. It is therefore not impossible that Madame Couillard drew somewhat on her imagination; it was an imaginative age.

Madame Champlain sailed with her husband never to return. One would like to get an actual glimpse at the real life of this good woman during her sojourn in the colony. For twelve years previously husband and wife had met only after long intervals of separation, and, except while he was detained in 1612-1613 in France for twenty-one months, greetings and partings followed all too closely, until the brave woman decided to share her husband's hardships, and bury herself in the forests and snows of Canada, with no female society but Madame Hébert and her daughter and her own three waiting women. The Recollet Fathers must have been welcome guests in her *salon* at the habitation, yet she is not so much as mentioned by the contemporary historian, Sagard. He goes into minute details as to the manner of life of the Huron girls and Indian women, yet refuses us a glimpse into the character and the occupation of the first of that brilliant procession of French ladies, whose beauty, charm of manner and conversation have made Quebec as famous as its scenery or its commerce. After her husband's death Madame Champlain founded an Ursuline convent at Meaux, into which she retired, and the "Chroniques de l'Ordre des Ursulines" (vie de Marie Hélène Boullé) gives a story of her life, drawing a portrait as unlike that of a real woman as those of saints—depicted from memory and imagination—usually are. She had abandoned the faith of her father and adopted that of her husband early in her married life, soon after his return to France in 1612-1613. She was doubtless an ardent convert. She succeeded in persuading her brother to return to the ancient faith, and, when in Canada, was probably an example of piety and zeal. But her days must have been spent, in part at least, in some other occupation than catechising Indian children in their own tongue, which

she is said to have learned, and nursing sick squaws. What she did towards beautifying her rooms in the habitation, towards infusing a ray of refinement into the coarse habits of the trappers, soldiers, masons and carpenters of the fort; to what extent she shared her husband's labors, whether she accompanied him in his shorter journeys and helped him in his clerical work—all these are domestic details which, if narrated, would have shed some rays of the sunshine of human interest over those dreary years of the colony's history. Champlain's own nobility of character is displayed in nothing more conspicuously than in his own self-effacement and in his reticence regarding his own doings; we readily understand, therefore, that his native refinement would revolt against any parade of his wife's virtues and good deeds. In any case, between the spleen or the modesty of the priestly historian and the chivalry of the soldier chronicler, all that we know is that Madame Champlain landed in Canada in 1620, and that she re-embarked in August, 1624.

CHAPTER VIII.

De Caen's Company and the Capture of Quebec by Kirke. 1624-1629.

On disembarking in France in 1624 Champlain at once reported to the King and the King's Viceroy, the Duc de Montmorency. It was a discouraging tale he had to tell of stagnation everywhere except in the company's commercial department. Louis Hébert was the only colonist who was really attempting agriculture. A few—as Couillard, Martin, Pivert, Desportes, Duchesne—may have turned their hands in a desultory way to gardening, but the other notable inhabitants of the post, Marsolet Brulé, Hertel, Nicollet le Tardif, the three Godefroys, were engaged exclusively as the company's employees in the fur trade and in dealings with the Indians. The scanty population remained stationary. At most two acres had been cultivated near the fort. But trade was fairly active—15,000 to 20,000 beaver skins were exported annually. Champlain had made a laudable effort to induce the Indians to cultivate a farm at the Beauport Flats; though if he could not persuade his own countrymen to engage in a pursuit to which they had been accustomed, there was little prospect of his succeeding with the savages. The only fodder for the few cattle was wild hay. Industrial pursuits seemed to have no attraction for the immigrants, who found the Indian life strangely congenial and Indian wives quite to their taste. Thus a large proportion of the colony had drifted into the woods, but instead of being, as they were intended to be, mere servants of the trader, they had become as arrant rovers as the Indians themselves, and had relapsed into semi-savage hunters.

In another ship of the fall fleet Brother Gabriel Sagard and Father Irénée had crossed the sea to relate their tale of woe and ventilate their grievances. Brother Gabriel had been only one year in Canada, but in that period had sufficiently proved his com-

mand of fluent narrative and ardent bigotry; there could be no doubt therefore as to his fitness to expound the pious argument that all the ills which beset the colony were due to the influence in the company's affairs of the hated Huguenots.

While Champlain was complaining of the company's slackness in carrying out its scheme of colonization, and the Recollet Fathers were dilating on the indignity they were exposed to when the Huguenots said their prayers in the cabin, while they had to sing the praises of their God in the prow of the ship, which was certainly, as he expressed it, "giving the false God, Baal, a precedence over the True God," the Viceroy's patience was still further taxed by the complaints of the contending factions in the company itself. No wonder that he was entirely willing, for a valuable consideration, to relinquish the viceroyalty over half a continent and fifty colonists, and a small fleet of trading ships, whose crews could not even drive poaching rivals from the territory over which they had exclusive privileges. With the consent of the King, Montmorency transferred his dignities and troubles to his nephew, the Duc de Ventadour, a much more pious but much less able man than himself. Henri de Levis, duc de Ventadour, is said even to have taken holy orders. He retained Champlain as his representative in Canada, and the latter informs us that, anxious to enlist more energetic missionaries than the Recollets in the service of the Church, the new viceroy arranged that six Jesuit priests should go, at his own expense, to convert the Indians to the True Faith. Brother Sagard, on the contrary, claims the initiative for his Franciscan brotherhood. He attributes the ill success of his Order to its poverty, and to the indifference and hardly disguised hostility of the company. To reach the Indian's conscience you must, he had discovered, appeal to his stomach, and the Recollets had no funds wherewith to effect conversions in that manner. They had succeeded as well as the Jesuits in Brazil and in India, for in torrid climates the natives could subsist on the spontaneous products of the soil; but to reach the heart of the suffering North American Indian, you had to relieve his temporal wants: this they could not do—far less could they erect and maintain schools and col-

legiate institutions for the Indians and the French. The Recollets, as members of one of the strictest sub-orders of the Franciscans, could own no real estate. The Jesuits, though pledged by most solemn vows to individual poverty, chastity and obedience, could, as an order, hold real estate and collect rents for the maintenance of their schools and colleges—a provision which their experience in Canada proved to be wise, and of which they took liberal advantage.

The Jesuit had made his advent into New France under the patronage of Madame de Guercheville fifteen years previously, and had earned the credit in Acadia of apostolic zeal and devotion. But if the Recollet solicited the aid of this powerful ally, it was not without some misgiving. Sagard's account of the transaction has delicious touches of sincerity to set off his politic explanation. "Many of our friends," he says, "dissuaded us from choosing the Jesuit Fathers as our allies, assuring us that in the long run they would manage to expel us from our home, and drive us from the country." But there was really nothing in the demeanor of the good Fathers, as far as the charitable annalist could observe, to warrant such an insinuation. Even if one or two among them harbored such a thought, it would be unfair, he says, to attribute it to all. "For the sinister scheme of one or two priests no more stamps the whole Order with the taint of unworthy motives than a single swallow makes a spring." Evidently there were one or two among the members of the Society of Jesus who did justify the foreboding of the Recollet friars; for one day Sagard himself heard from an official source that, at a meeting of the Council, it had been decided to cut off the "allowance" for the support of two of the Recollets, thus reducing their number, as without the allowance which the company had always made, the mission could not be sustained on its existing footing. Sagard admits that this action, which, however, he succeeded in getting reversed, did not augur well for the future. To add to their uneasiness, the innocent Recollets were not advised of the time of the final meeting of the Jesuit Fathers with the Council and with the board of management of the company, nor of the day of their departure for Dieppe. At length six

Jesuits sailed, five only of whom, three priests and two brothers, are mentioned by name in Champlain's narrative. With them embarked Father Joseph de la Roche Daillon, the only Recollet who had reached the port. Well might Sagard look with distrust to the future, despite his reflection that "little faults will creep into the conduct of the best regulated company and solecisms be committed in the most polite society."

In their haste to take the first ship the Jesuits arrived in Quebec in the spring of 1625, unannounced, and without letters from the King. De Caen's nephew, the Sieur Emery, who had been left in charge of the company's affairs, and whom Champlain had made his deputy, did not offer them hospitality at the *habitation*, though Champlain says they crossed with De Caen himself, and were courteously treated by him. Neither the authorities of the fort nor the *habitants* themselves seem to have bidden them a hearty welcome. As the old company building had been pulled down, and the new one was incomplete, accommodation was scanty, and the cordiality of the Huguenot traders was scantier still. The Jesuit Fathers were therefore thrown on the tender mercies of their Recollet brethren. That fellow priests, animated by the same spirit and actuated by the same aims, should dwell together would seem a most congenial arrangement, and one wonders, therefore, at the indignation expressed over the action of the company's agent, the immense credit taken to themselves by the monks for a simple act of hospitality and the effusive manner in which it is acknowledged by the Jesuit writers. Let it suffice here to record the fact that, at the monastery of the Recollets on the Little River, the Jesuit missionaries received shelter, and that there they remained for two years or more, till their own quarters on their seignory of Notre Dame des Anges were ready for occupation.

For a century and a half the Jesuits were one of the most powerful ecclesiastical organizations in New France, exhibiting there most conspicuously that combination of religious ardor and political astuteness which has been the source both of their strength and of their weakness the world over, one, however, which is quite consistent with the principles of the Church of which they have been the most perfectly organized militia.

The Church, when its claim to be the voice of God and the arbiter of all things, human and divine, is admitted, necessarily takes cognizance of the concerns of a man's private life, and of the still more important concentration of human interests and duties in State affairs. The interference of the Jesuit Order in politics can, therefore, be fully justified on theological grounds, however reprehensible it may have been accounted by statesmen of every creed and country. We shall find that the members of this ubiquitous and at times omnipotent order, though personally unassuming, were almost as influential in the counsels of the colony as the Governor or the Intendant. Whatever traits they elsewhere exhibited, in Canada they displayed religious fanaticism mellowed by true devotion, and kept in check by worldly wisdom; self-abnegation rising to the height of martyrdom, associated with corporate selfishness in the business management of their vast estate; devoted loyalty to the Church, associated, if their opponents are to be credited, with actual treason to the State; profound learning and strict orthodoxy.

Champlain's commission as lieutenant of the Duke de Ventadour was ample enough. Its terms implied a real determination to colonize and introduce the machinery of civilization, for it empowered the Governor to appoint officers of justice and make provision for maintaining and enforcing law and order. It commissioned him to extend exploration westward with a view of opening up communication with China and the East Indies, and in the meantime to do his best to discover mines of gold, silver and copper and, to extract and refine the said metals from their ores; above all to oppose all traffic with the Indians by either Frenchmen or other Europeans north and south of Gaspé, from the 48th to the 52d degree of latitude. Evidently Champlain's free trade argument had had no effect.

De Caen made a trip to Canada in 1625. Complaint was made to his Majesty's Council that he had used his influence to induce Catholics to engage in religious rites according to Huguenot practice, an impeachment which he denied. There were other dissensions in the Council. Negotiations were opened looking to the transfer of the whole business to de Caen on his guaranteeing thir-

ty-six per cent on the capital of 60,000 livres. Evidently the fur trade was profitable. The Government intervened, insisting on his providing within three days bondsmen to guarantee the fulfillment of his contract, also that he appoint a good Catholic, whose allegiance would be beyond suspicion, and satisfactory to the pious Duke, as Admiral of his fleet. A certain capitain de la Ralde was found, sound in the faith and a trusty sailor, and with him Champlain set sail in the good ship "Catherine" on April 24, 1626, for the *habitation*, accompanied by Father Joseph le Caron, his own brother-in-law, Boullé, and Mons. Destouches, the former with a commission as Champlain's lieutenant, the latter as his ensign. Another ship, the "Alouette," of eighty tons burden, was chartered for 3,500 livres by the Society of Jesus to carry out three more Jesuit priests, the Fathers Noiret, Anne de Nouë and Brother Jean Gaufestre, together with twenty workmen, to be employed in the erection of the Jesuit mission, which Father Lalemant, with the aid of carpenters borrowed from the *habitation*, had already commenced to build on the north bank of the St. Charles, near the spot where Cartier wintered. They had a tempestuous passage, and it was the 5th of July before they anchored under the cliff.

For a time hereafter we shall have in addition to Champlain, two ecclesiastical chroniclers to draw from. The religious news and gossip of Father Sagard is supplemented by the first of the more humanly interesting records of the Jesuit Fathers, who looked at life in its manifold phases from a much more practical point of view than the Franciscan Friars. Isolated in their monastery, the latter referred ever to their fellow countrymen at the fort as "Les Français." Their vows seem to sever the very ties of nationality, as well as to destroy their interest in the common doings of common men. Not so, or at least not to the same extent, was it with the Jesuits, for Father Lalemant says, in a letter to his brother, that trade, to wit, the fur trade, in Canada at that time was the pivot on which even mission work must revolve; he therefore gives his brother some account of the business transactions of the fur company in that year of grace, 1625. He tells how formerly, before

the second association obtained exclusive trade privileges, there used to assemble in Tadousac from fifteen to twenty ships to trade with the Indians. Now there arrived in June at most two, and sometimes only one. He enumerates all the articles brought for traffic with the Indians. They consist of the usual motley assortment of merchandise, including even Indian night-caps. In exchange the traders took back all the various furs which are still the products of the roving Indian's labors. He puts the annual shipment of beaver skins at from 15,000 to 20,000, and the price in France at one pistole per skin. But the company's expenses, he tells us, were heavy. Beside the outlay in ships and provisions, there were some 40 men employed the year round in Quebec and Tadousac, and crews of at least 150 on the two ships owned by the company which were engaged in the fur trade. The wages varied from 100 écus to 106 livres, with board.*

The two years of Champlain's absence had been uneventful. He tells us nothing of what happened at the post; in truth there was nothing to tell. Before departing two years previously, he had gathered well-nigh enough stone, lime and lumber to rebuild the *habitation* and complete the fort; and they were almost as he had left them. He might well complain of the indolence of all hands. The excuse given—for of course there was an excuse—was that half the time of the 55 inhabitants had been spent in bringing the fodder for the animals from the natural meadow at Cap Tourmente on their tiny craft to Quebec. To remedy this he determined to erect farm buildings at the Cape itself, and there feed the cattle for the sustenance of the fort. He little dreamed how futile his labor would be.

Father Joseph de la Roche Dallion, one of the Recollets, and Father Brebeuf, a Jesuit, started in the summer of 1625, according to Sagard, for the Huron country, but their hearts failed them, and they returned, after hearing of the drowning of good

* The *grand écu* was worth six francs, but the *petit écu*, for which the word *écu* stands, was worth three francs. The *livre* varied from 20 sous, at Tours, to 25 sous in value, at Paris. The wages therefore varied from \$60 to \$21 of our currency.

Father Nicolas in the Ottawa, on his way back from the Georgian Bay. That can hardly have been the motive, for Father Brebeuf's subsequent glorious career and martyrdom make it impossible to suspect him of timidity. Probably the Hurons had filled their canoes with merchandise, and declined to overload them with the two missionaries. However that may have been, the next summer the Jesuit Father accompanied them to their homes, and became the first of the gallant band who exposed themselves to every hardship, even to martyrdom, in the propagation of the True Faith among the Hurons.

But the most important event of the whole season, if we may judge by the detail with which it is narrated, was the struggle at Quebec for the possession of a little Indian boy, who was a favorite of Father Nicolas, and had accompanied him on his last fatal journey. Though the little urchin was at the Recollet monastery, the Jesuits were bidding for him, and Emery de Caen himself wished to take him to France under his patronage, as a proof that the company was doing something towards fulfilling its engagements in the way of civilizing the Indian. So between the three claimants for the guardianship of the boy, the father, with true Indian shrewdness, was making a threefold profit out of his offspring. Although Father Paul, who was ready to sail for France, took charge of him on the voyage, the Jesuits ultimately managed to win the prize through the intercession of their patron the Duke de Ventadour. They made the most of the acquisition, for the little fellow, after such instruction in the faith as could be given by a lay teacher, the only person connected with the Jesuits in France who had any acquaintance with the boy's language—Sagard speaks of it as rather superficial—was baptized with much ceremony in the Cathedral of Rouen, under the name of Louis de Sainte Foy. The Duke de Longueville and Madame de Villars stood as godparents, and the crowd filled the pile to see the son of a king, and the heir apparent to a vast domain, as the sailors reported him to be, received into Holy Church. It was a fitting counterblast to the Protestant baptism of Pocahontas and her marriage to John Rolfe.

While such petty intrigues were occupying the minds of the

more intelligent inhabitants of the post, the summer passed. No land was cleared; no fields plowed; no provision made for self-support by any but the priests. What work the artisans did on the fort was so ill done that it tumbled down even before Kirke came to blow it to pieces four years later. Nevertheless men were found to help the Jesuits to build their house on the St. Charles. As to the company, it cared not a whit for aught but its profits in the trade in peltries.

Champlain before the season of 1626 had passed, carried out his plan of establishing a farm, under the Sieur Foucher, at Cap Tourmente, where cattle were to be housed and fattened on the native grass for the support of the fort. He enlarged the fort of St. Louis in the hope that ere long the King would send some soldiers to garrison it. He built two demi-bastions towards the river, on which he mounted two guns, and, being unable to blast the solid rock, he protected the exposed flank of the fort with wooden palisades and *fascines*. Life in the meantime was stimulated by religious dissension. Father Nouë came up from Tadousac with an awful story of how the crew of Emery's ship, after their commander had left, sang, despite his orders, the hymns of the heretic Clement Marot so loudly that even the savages heard the impious sound upon the shore. Next month the good father accompanied Father Brebeuf to the land of the Hurons, where he would not be annoyed by any such profanity. But the very day the missionaries started on their long canoe journey, further complaint reached Champlain from Tadousac of the disobedience of de Caen's Huguenot crew, who were charged now with assembling on their ships for public prayers. Aggravated as were their offences, Champlain did not dare to be too severe, for shortly afterwards he received a message from de la Ralde, the Admiral of the company's fleet, that pirates were trespassing on the company's trade in the lower St. Lawrence, and ordering him to despatch Emery in the Jesuit ship, the "Alouette," to his assistance. More serious news still, had he only been able to appreciate its significance, reached him, of the murder of five Dutch traders by a band of Mohawks, though the Dutch were the allies and friends of the Iroquois. So Emery de Caen de-

parted on August 25th, leaving the colony rather short of supplies, to commence its hibernation. With de Caen went Pontgravé; and it must have been with no little apprehension and regret that Champlain, parted already from his wife, and now losing his old comrade, saw the vessels of de Caen set sail. His only relief was in work. He had to establish in their new building the little farming colony of six men, one woman and a little girl, who were to take charge of the cattle at Cap Tourmente, and to get out lumber enough to keep the savages and carpenters occupied during the winter. Death meantime was busy. It carried off one of the Jesuit staff of workmen, and a little Indian girl, whom, however, Lalemant had the satisfaction of baptizing. If we are to credit Le Clercq, the Jesuits were disheartened this year by the fruitlessness of their labor among the Indians and the hopeless aspect of colonial affairs—so much so that, but for the inspiration infused into them by the Recollet monks, they would have abandoned the mission. Their own chronicles do not express any such pusillanimous intention; still priests, however saintly their character, are but men, and, in the confidences of the refectory at the monasteries on the St. Charles, Jesuit and Recollet, despite their suspicion of one another, must have chatted many a time over the hopelessness of the task they had entered upon, which, to the highly educated priests would naturally be more repulsive than to the sandaled monks.

Besides the nameless workman and the Indian girl, death carried off Hébert, a man worthy of being held in remembrance as the first *habitant* in Canada who turned his hand industriously to agriculture, and raised enough from the soil to support his family. He was buried in the cemetery of the Recollet monastery, but his body was transferred more than half a century afterwards, in the presence of his daughter, Madame Couillard, to the new church of the Recollet Friars, where the English Cathedral now stands. Were his final resting place known, a monument might very suitably be erected to commemorate the virtues of the first farmer in the St. Lawrence valley.

The year 1627 was notable in the annals of the province for

the breaking out of war with the Iroquois. The St. Lawrence Indians, relying on assistance from the Dutch, but in direct opposition to Champlain's advice and the protests of his brother-in-law, Boullé, whom he sent to the council at Three Rivers, broke the peace, and had a temporary success. At Champlain's personal solicitation, and that of Emery de Caen, who reached Quebec on the 9th of June, and proceeded up the river at once with Champlain to the rendezvous at Three Rivers, the victors consented not to torture and kill their three prisoners. The French had, nevertheless, to bear the odium of the acts of their savage allies, and to pay the penalty of their reckless bravado by many a year of anxiety and the sacrifice of many an innocent life.

It was with great pleasure that Champlain on his return to Quebec found Pontgravé at the *habitation*. The weather-beaten old sailor had come to Gaspé on a vessel of Honfleur, and thence, with his little grandson, had ascended the river in an open boat, suffering on the way agonies from the gout, but determined to obey de Caen's instructions, which were to hasten to the post as manager of the company's business affairs. He must have brought some forewarning of the quarrel brewing between England and France, which broke out in July of that year through the wanton and unprovoked attack on Rochelle by the English under Buckingham; for we find that, when the Jesuit ship failed to arrive, with provisions for the mission and a crew of workmen, apprehension of its capture by the English was so strong, and dread of the future so rife, that Father Lalemant determined to ship all hands back to France, except Fathers Massé and de Nouë, a brother and five workmen. As the Jesuits were not popular, they found it difficult to secure passages. Neither de Caen nor even the Catholic captain, de la Ralde, showed any desire to accommodate them. Father Noirot had quarrelled with both at Tadousac, and they had revenged themselves by interfering with the shipment of provisions from the lower port to the Jesuit establishment at Quebec. The tact and good humor of Father Lalemant seems, however, to have overcome all opposition, for in the end they were given passage on one of the Company's ships. With the Fathers who remained the company's store keeper at the *habitation* was not averse to sharing

his scanty stock, for he knew he would get in return more than he gave. This he undoubtedly succeeded in doing, for he exchanged ten kegs of biscuit for beaver skins, at the rate of seven skins per keg. The Jesuits had bought the skins at different times at one écu apiece. In the long run, however, the beaver skins did not profit the company, as they ultimately fell into the hands of David Kirke.

With gloomy forebodings, the settlement was thus compelled to face another dreary winter, short of provisions, and in peril of being attacked the following spring by an English fleet, instead of being cheered by the arrival of their countrymen, and by stores of good things from the mother country. Moreover, the fear entertained by the Governor and his subjects of savage foes near home must have been even keener than his dread of foes from abroad who could at least be depended on to regard the usages of civilized warfare. The last ship had hardly left Quebec before disquieting rumors reached the *habitation* of the Iroquois being on the warpath in dangerous numbers. At this season the Algonquin Indians of the St. Lawrence gathered from far and near to catch and smoke eels near Quebec; and Champlain had only too much reason to dread the spirit of unrest which their recent campaign had excited, not to speak of the resentment they doubtless felt at his unwillingness to join them in their aggression on the Iroquois confederacy. It may have been this feeling of discontent, coupled with a previous grudge, which instigated the murder of two Frenchmen whom Champlain had sent up with cattle from Cap Tourmente. One of them was Henri, a servant of the widow Hébert; the other a man called Dumoulin. The two unfortunates reached the Beauport Flats late in the afternoon, to find the tide too high to permit of their crossing. They tried to enter the hunting cabin of Mons. Giffard, afterward the first Seigneur of Beauport. Finding it locked, they lay down on their blankets and slept the sleep of death, for an Indian, mistaking one of them for Hébert's baker, against whom he had a grudge, tomahawked them both during the night. The murder was discovered the next day, and a summons was sent to the monastery of the Recollets and to the Jes-

uit house to attend a special meeting of council for devising measures of defence and protection against an Indian rising. The situation was certainly critical. Champlain was short of arms, shorter still of ammunition, and already on reduced rations. He suspected that war had broken out with England. The English colonies on the seaboard, which might be expected to co-operate with their parent State, were showing signs of growth and energy, and were already vastly more populous than his. He knew how rapidly news spread, and how shrewdly the calculating savage takes advantage either of enemy or friend in moments of difficulty. The miserable Montagnais might therefore know more, through New England emissaries, than he did himself of what was passing in the world. His quondam Indian allies might, in fact, be leagued with the enemies of France. What course should he take? Should he temporize, or take the risk of a stern stand against the treacherous savages? He wisely adopted the latter course. He called on the chiefs of the Montagnais to deliver up the murderer or murderers. At first they laid the crime to the charge of Iroquois marauders, and disclaimed all responsibility. Refusing indignantly to accept such an explanation, Champlain arrested an Indian who had once threatened the life of a Frenchman. Subsequently he seems to have arrested another suspect. The third day a deputation left three children with him as hostages, but he warned them that henceforth his men would go armed, and when in the woods shoot down every Indian who did not satisfactorily answer the challenge.

Fortunately the snow lay light that winter, and as moose hunting was poor, the pinch of hunger began to be felt more acutely by the red man than even by the white. To propitiate Champlain a band of Indians crossed the river and begged for food, offering in return three young girls, to be sent, if he wished, to France. When the ships left there were altogether fifty-five souls in Champlain's government—men, women and children—of whom eighteen were carpenters and builders. Of this little band two had been murdered, but Champlain had accepted as hostages three boys; and now three girls of hearty appetite were added. Champlain took Pontgravé, who was in charge of

the company's affairs and of its stores, into his counsel. They decided that it would be prudent to give the Indians what they could spare of their only abundant article of diet, peas, and to accept in return—their promises. Shortly afterwards the father of one of the girls fell ill, and was baptized, but baptism not restoring him to health, he insisted on being removed from the monastery to his old cabin and to his own people, where, with dancing and noisy incantations, the medicine men hastened his death. It was not an edifying or an encouraging result of the holy fathers' missionary labors, but they had already learned, and regretfully acknowledged, when they called in the aid of the wealthy Jesuit, that conviction was best created in the Indian's mind by ministering to his stomach.

The year 1628 was one of unbroken gloom. During the winter, by night and by day, apprehension of Indian rising haunted the feeble colony. Spring brought no relief. Expedition after expedition of the Montagnais left to fight the Iroquois, but Champlain would not join them. May came and went; June followed; but no ships were even reported as coming to their relief. Their provisions were reduced to some spoiled biscuits and a small stock of peas and beans. Not only were they verging on famine, but they had not even a schooner in which to visit the Gulf and seek provisions and relief from the sailors of the season's fleet, at this time fishing below Gaspé. De la Ralde had neglected to send back their schooner with supplies in the previous fall. Pontgravé could have taken command of it, but among the fifty-five who were actually at the fort of Quebec there were priests and carpenters and clerks, but no sailors. Nevertheless, the most indolent lent a hand in building a boat in which to send a crew for the larger craft at Tadousac. With the crew were to have been shipped as passengers as many of the inhabitants as were merely bread eaters.

To aggravate their anxiety and suffering, superstition added imaginary terrors. The towers of the fort, badly built during Champlain's absence, fell on Sunday, July 9, but the fears of the people, stimulated by the friars, saw a supernatural portent in the accident. "For," as Brother Sagard says, "what

reason could we assign for their falling when the weather was so perfectly calm, had not God, by their collapse, intended to foretell a disaster? Only three years had elapsed since they were built. They did not therefore crumble through age, but the iniquity of people whom God wills to chastise by the descent of the English was the cause of the catastrophe."

While the boat was building Champlain and Pontgravé were using every argument to induce Couillard, Hébert's son-in-law, the only active man in the community, first to caulk and then to sail it. He refused, but, as things turned out, it made little difference, for on the very day the towers fell a messenger came up by land from Cap Tourmente, to say that an Indian lad had reached the farm with the news of the arrival at Tadousac of a fleet of ships under the command of a certain Captain Michel of Dieppe, a renegade Frenchman. Champlain tried to persuade himself that, though the fleet was too large to be the company's, de Caen's fleet might have been joined by fishermen, and that perhaps the strange captain was of the number. The native who brought the tidings to the farm arrived in his canoe shortly afterwards, and on closer interrogation, created grave suspicion in Champlain's mind that the fleet was an English one. As soon as this disquieting news reached the *habitation*, Father Joseph left the monastery at once with two Indians to look after his little flock at Cap Tourmente, where they had already built a little chapel; but they had not compassed half the journey before they were met by two canoes carrying the Sieur Foucher from that place, more frightened than hurt. He was fleeing from the English, with a woman and child. Champlain meanwhile had taken measures to secure information. There was a Greek at the *habitation* willing to assume the disguise of an Indian and to descend the river as a spy. Before reaching the end of the island he also met the fugitives. There was therefore no longer any doubt of the enemy's being at hand. In fact, a schooner with twenty men, piloted by a Frenchman, had been dispatched from Kirke's fleet at Tadousac to destroy the farm building and kill the stock at Cap Tourmente. They had done it most effectually, burning the buildings, and killing the whole herd of forty cattle. Kirke wisely judged that,

by cutting off Champlain's total supply of meat, he was compelling him to capitulate sooner or later. At the same time he replenished his own commissary. Kirke's lieutenant expected to surprise the farm, for his men landed at daylight, and, when discovered, pretended they were friends. Foucher was already on the alert. No opposition, however, was made by the farm hands, and no casualties occurred, Sieur Foucher himself managing to escape with no more serious injury than a few bruises.

Champlain at once set himself to strengthen the defenses of the *habitation* and the fort, and the Recollet friars began to deliberate how best they could escape capture and continue their mission. The surest means seemed to be to accompany the Huron hunters to their distant lodges on the shores of the Georgian Bay, whither Kirke and his men could certainly not follow. So Father Germain and a Brother started on the journey, but meeting a Jesuit Father, Joseph de la Nouë, who was returning to Quebec just as they received news of the departure of Kirke and his English pirates, as they branded them, from Tadousac, they decided to let the Hurons proceed alone, and to return to their monastery, a course which was fruitful of casuistical explanation by the faithful, and of irreverent gossip among the ungodly of Quebec.

On the afternoon of the day following the attack on Cap Tourmente, a canoe was paddled up the St. Charles with such hesitation that the lookout on the fort supposed it to be manned by enemies ignorant of the locality, and Champlain accordingly sent some arquebusiers through the woods to intercept them. The supposition was wrong, for it contained three of the prisoners taken by Kirke's men at the farm, with some Basque sailors, whom Kirke's fleet had captured in the river. They were the bearers of a demand for the surrender of the place. The demand and Champlain's reply are models of courteous phraseology. Utterly incapable of resistance as he was, it was courageous on Champlain's part to send so peremptory a refusal. He did so because he expected day by day assistance from France, feeling sure that the powerful and determined minister who ruled the King of France, the Queen mother and the nation, would not leave him helpless in

such an hour of peril. It was assurance, not mere conjecture, on Kirke's part that a relieving force was at hand which determined him to sail back in order to meet the approaching enemy, rather than forward to attack a weak post, defended by a handful of helpless and disheartened traders. That such was the condition of the post he had doubtless learned, both from the Indians, who at the time were irritated against Champlain, and from the company's competitors in the lower river, who were always ready to deal a blow at the monopoly. He also knew that de Roquemont was at Gaspé and would follow him up the river, and that, if he proceeded, he would be hemmed in between the fort of Quebec, which might offer some resistance, and the French ships. Like a brave sailor, therefore, he elected to attack the approaching fleet, which consisted of the same number of ships as he himself commanded. If he defeated de Roquemont, Champlain would be at his mercy. If defeated, he would stand a better chance of retreat in the open Gulf than in a narrow, dangerous river, with the navigation of which he was imperfectly acquainted. The event justified his decision. De Roquemont, learning from the Indians at Gaspé that an English fleet was at Tadousac, despatched a shallop with ten men under Desdames, the clerk of the new company. They were instructed to elude the English, if possible, ascertain their strength and position, land a signal party at the Island of St. Bernard, so as to communicate with his fleet when it hove in sight, and push forward to warn Champlain of his approach.

De Roquemont had hardly commenced to creep up the river before the English were seen to be bearing down upon him. His first duty was to save his cargo and relieve the famishing post at Quebec. He therefore attempted to escape, but Kirke's ships were superior to his in speed. A battle ensued which lasted fifteen hours, in which 1,200 shots were fired and two Frenchmen were killed. The battle only ceased with exhaustion of the Frenchman's ammunition. His ships all fell a prey to the English commander, who, however, accorded honorable terms of capitulation. There were on De Roquemont's ships two Jesuit priests and two Recollet Friars to recruit the con-

siderable body of clergy already in the colony, and a number of workmen with their wives and children, who were being sent out by the company of the One Hundred Associates, which had in this inauspicious spring replaced de Caen's commercial partnership. When the fight was impending, their fellow passengers, knowing the dislike which Kirke's crew bore to the members of the ecclesiastical profession, obliged the four priests to adopt a lay costume. But their apprehensions were groundless. Kirke, whatever else he was, was a gentleman. The crews and passengers of low estate were sent in two of the ships to France. The captain, the Jesuits, and men of means were carried to England, where they were retained until the stipulated ransoms were paid. The Recollet Friars, and certain poor gentle folk of no prospective pecuniary value, were permitted to return to France in one of the fishing sloops, which were subsequently found at St. Pierre, ready to sail with their cargoes of dry cod. With so much ransom to be collected, with the cargoes of De Requemont's four ships to be disposed of, and with the additional prizes taken at St. Pierre to be safely ferried across the ocean, Kirke prudently decided to leave Champlain and his miserable compatriots free to eat up the rest of their peas, and be starved into submission on his return in the following spring.

In course of time the shallop with Desdames and the eleven men reached Quebec. He told of the abolition of the old company and the creation of a new. But he was the bearer of no official communications, from either de Roquemont or the home authorities. Father Lalemant, however, wrote Champlain, promising to see him soon, if the English, who were barring the way, would permit. But Desdames' arrival simply served to increase the misery of the little settlement—not only by the evil news he brought—but because he and his people added so many more mouths to consume the scanty rations, now reduced to seven ounces of peas per day per man. The munitions of war were also not on a scale which permitted Champlain to challenge Kirke, consisting, as they did, of only fifty pounds of powder and a few matchlocks.

As soon as the canoes had descended the river with Kirke's

envoy, a deputation was sent to survey the damage done at Cap Tourmente. The marauders had killed all the cattle but one cow, which had made its escape, but the carcasses of several others, which had not been burnt or carried away by Kirke's men, were found. All the buildings were demolished, and the sacred vessels of the little chapel had either been stolen or destroyed. Champlain would have been wiser had he, during the previous two years, compelled his idle crew of trappers and traders to clear a tract of land on the height near Quebec for the pasturage of his cattle, instead of leaving so valuable a depot immediately in the track of an enemy ascending the river. His experience of the far reaching arm of the English marauders under Argall of Virginia should have warned him of the fate which might at any moment overtake his defenseless settlement at Cap Tourmente.

The summer and autumn wore away without news. No ships came from France with the much needed relief, and neither did the dreaded English fleet heave in sight. Champlain pathetically says, "While we were impatiently awaiting tidings of the battle we were doling out our small resources of peas. Most of our men were showing signs of increased debility. Even our stock of salt was running short. To reduce the peas to meal and thus make them more palatable and nutritious, I first thought of extemporizing a wooden mortar, but finally decided to try and make a hand-mill. Our blacksmith found a spindle and mill stones, and the carpenter undertook to mount them. Thus necessity compelled us to do what for twenty years had seemed impossible. Everyone brought his allowance of peas, and it was returned to him as flour. When the eel season arrived, the fish relieved our wants. The Indians are expert fishermen, but were only willing to give us a few, and for these they made us pay right dearly. The men bartered even their clothes for eels, and the store secured 1,200 of the slimy creatures in exchange for fresh beaver skins, the price demanded being one skin for ten eels. Great hopes had been entertained of the grain products of Hébert's farm, but when the harvest was garnered, all that could be spared was nine and a half ounces a week of barley, peas and Indian meal—a scanty allowance for so many people."

Chomina, a friendly Indian, brought them in some venison when the winter was far advanced and the snow lay deep. Champlain sent some of his own men hunting. They were successful, but the greedy fellows ate so much of the deer they killed that not more than twenty pounds reached the habitation.

To keep up the spirits of the men, Champlain set about building a flour mill to be run by waterpower, though there was nothing to grind. Then an old boat was repaired, to be used in the last extremity in seeking relief from their misery, and the never-ending task of cutting firewood then, as now, occupied a large share of the time of the people. While thus distracting the thoughts of his men from the perilous situation, he himself was cogitating endless schemes for saving them from the starvation which seemed imminent, unless either their countrymen or the enemy came to their rescue. If they could sustain life until autumn, he believed they could garner enough food to keep them during another winter. One plan which he seems to have seriously contemplated for replenishing their empty storehouse was, under the guidance of the Montagnais Indians, to attack a Mohawk village and carry off the stock of maize which he knew to be stored in plenty in their lodges. Another scheme was to seek the friendship and the assistance of the Abenakis, who were represented as being rich in stores of grain and anxious for his alliance and aid against the Iroquois. To reconnoitre the Iroquois country he sent off a trustworthy man on May 16th.

But, as in the wider world, so in this group of unfortunate exiles, with famine staring them in the face, and cut off from all knowledge of what was befalling their countrymen and their kinsmen, misery acted as an excuse for marrying and giving in marriage, rather than as a deterrent, for on the very day Champlain's emissary and spy left for the Iroquois country, the widow Hébert consoled herself for the loss of her distinguished and enterprising first husband by marrying Guillaume Hubou with more than customary ceremonial. Only under the Hébert roof was there still enough to eat, and the marriage feast, however simple, must to the hungry crowd have been a sumptuous ban-

quet, for the public stock of peas was running so short that it would be exhausted by the end of the month.

Another event marked the 16th of May. While one canoe went up the river towards the Iroquois country, another was despatched down the river to watch for friends and warn the Governor of the approach of foes. The emissaries were supplied with a roundrobin to all illicit traders, promising them, not only exemption from punishment, but better pay in peltries for their provisions than the Indians would give, if they would but treat with the company. Not content with one scouting party, he sent the company's chief clerk, Desmoulins, in the shallop with six sailors on the following day to scour the river for assistance, and with orders not to give up the search until July 10, which was the latest date when a trader might be expected to enter the Gulf.

Desmoulins warned him that if the sailors under his command reached a homeward bound ship, his authority would be powerless to restrain them. Nevertheless they were despatched, for, happen what might, their departure left so many less to feed, and perhaps they might find some salt at Gaspé or on the Isle de Bonaventure, with which to cure the cod they might by good fortune catch. Not until three days after he had despatched Desmoulins did he learn from twenty Indians, coming from below on their way to fight the Iroquois, of the defeat of de Roquemont ten months before, and of the fate of his crew and passengers. The knowledge of the disaster, he saw at once, must lower the prestige of the French in the eyes of the Indians, and make their situation still more critical.

To add to his embarrassment, he still held as prisoners the Indians suspected of killing the two Frenchmen on the Beauport Flats, eighteen months previously. He had no positive evidence of their guilt, and he had postponed the trial, not caring to risk the consequences of a decision until the fleet with the company's agent should arrive. One season had passed, and no ship had sailed into the harbor. Now another was well advanced, and still the company's ship did not arrive. Old Chomina pleaded for the suspected prisoners, and promised to give bail for their appearance when the trial came. Champlain wisely agreed to

liberate the unfortunate suspects, who were dying of want and confinement, and who were so feeble that the friends of one of them had to carry him out of his prison house. In doing so, however, he made it a condition that they should be retained by the Recollet Friars as hostages.

The Abenaki Indians were persuaded to barter their Indian corn for goods, and to provide eight canoes to convey a party to be sent to negotiate with them. Taught by experience, Champlain stipulated that, when the fishing season should come round, the Indians would not demand an unreasonable price for their eels. Matters were becoming desperate. The schooner that had been repaired during the winter was ready for sea. Pine trees had been tapped for tar, and seals killed on Cap Tourmente had yielded oil. The vessel was therefore calked, and poor old, gouty Pontgravé was half forced and half persuaded to take command and carry thirty of the hungry colonists to France. Two years before he had suffered agony in ascending the river from Gaspé in an open boat, and the two years of privation and anxiety which followed had not encouraged him to volunteer to command a crazy craft and a helpless crew on a still more trying expedition.

He consented, nevertheless, and decided to leave his grandson, Du Marais, in his place, and to carry home a cargo of 1,000 beaver skins. He insisted, however, that before sailing his commission from de Caen should be read publicly after mass, believing that such publicity would give him a stronger claim on his employers for arrears of salary. To this Champlain consented, but he at the same time read his own commission from the King and the Viceroy, which clearly established his supreme authority in the colony. Pontgravé was deeply offended. On further discussion, it transpired that Pontgravé was unwilling to risk a trans-Atlantic voyage in the extemporized vessel, and had determined, if he sailed, to return to Quebec unless he could find in the Gulf a safer craft to which to transfer crew and cargo. To this Champlain was vehemently opposed, his supreme motive being to reduce the number of mouths. Pontgravé having in the end positively declined to sail, Champlain commissioned his brother-in-law, Boullé, to command the schooner.

All who could be spared went into the woods to dig roots, wherewith to provision the ship. Then Champlain assembled those who were to sail with Boullé. He desired to know how many would stop at Gaspé and repair the Jesuits' building which had been burned by Kirke, remaining there with the Indians to fish for sustenance; and how many would risk the danger of the trans-Atlantic voyage. Most of them elected to be landed at Gaspé. On the 26th of June they started, Boullé, Desdames, the company's head clerk, and the fugitives, on their dangerous voyage, in a smaller and worse equipped ship than any of Columbus' caravels. Sagard gives the tonnage of "Le Coquin" at twelve to fourteen—Champlain, in his deposition before Sir H. Martin, at six or seven tons. Fortunately they were captured by Kirke before a worse fate befell them.

More than one-third of the population had left with Boullé's crew. Those that remained applied themselves to fighting the famine. Some planted turnips and other roots, and hoped that they might live to dig them up. Others, to relieve their immediate necessity, gathered wild fruits and roots. Others went fishing, but with scant success, as they lacked both hooks and lines. Hunt they dare not, as the stock of powder was reduced to thirty or forty pounds, and, damaged as it was by damp, had to be reserved for defence. Sagard says that the root from which they derived most nourishment was that of the Solomon seal, and that it had the additional virtue of being a not unpalatable food when dried, ground and baked into bread. We are asked to believe, moreover, that it served as a charm against piles when carried as a scapular on the breast.

To vary the diet they made a soup of the roots, to which was added barley, bran, and acorns, the latter being previously boiled with ashes to extract the bitterness. Dried fish was a luxury, when added to the nauseous pottage, but there was no salt to flavor it. As a warning of the approach of the English, another tower of the fort fell, as on the previous year. To dispel the superstitious fears of the garrison, Champlain proceeded at once to rebuild it.

The annual coming of the Hurons was awaited with mixed

feelings of pleasure and anxiety. Some twenty of the French were likely to return with them, but there was nothing for them to eat. On the other hand, the Hurons might have a supply of grain for barter. To ascertain this Champlain entrusted Chomina, his faithful Montagnais, with cutlery and other merchandise, and sent him to intercept the approaching canoes, and barter his goods for what food he could induce them to part with. In vain was the request made, for when on July 17 the Hurons and Frenchmen arrived, the savages declared that they had hardly food enough for their own wants. Father Brebeuf was of the party, and though he offered tempting prices, only three small sacks of Indian meal could be obtained.

Ouagabimat. Chomina's brother, who afterwards became a convert, was sent in the other direction to the Etchemins and even to the English settlement to beg for food; but the rivers were low, and he and his French comrades speedily returned.

A gleam of pleasurable anticipation was shed over the dreary prospect by the return of the emissary sent to the Abenakis. He told of a friendly people, of villages teeming with plenty, where the hungry Frenchmen would be hospitably received, and he conveyed a promise that a great chief would follow with canoes laden with Indian corn. But it was hope only, no tangible relief, that he brought back, and the whole population had long been living on hope, or little else than hope.

Relief came at last with the news brought by a Montagnais of the near approach of the English fleet, at a moment when, from the lateness of the season, hope of escape, even by such unwelcome means, had died away. Champlain at the time was alone in the Fort. Every able-bodied man and woman was absent, some fishing, some gathering roots. Even his body servant and the two little Indian girls, Hope and Charity—for Faith had returned to her own people—were in the woods. About ten in the morning they commenced to hurry back. His servant had seen the fleet. It was only a league below the city, hidden by Point Levis. He and the little Indian girls had gathered four bags of roots, but what was that wherewith to provision

the garrison and maintain a siege? The ominous news had reached the Franciscan Monastery and the Jesuit House, and the Fathers and Monks hastened to the *habitation* to place their services and their counsel at the disposal of the Governor. It was decided to make at least a show of resistance, but to surrender without a shot if fair terms were offered.

Soon the English fleet of three sails, the "Flibot," of one hundred tons and ten guns, and two bateaux or transports, each of one hundred tons and six guns, the whole manned by about 150 men, rounded the point. Then a boat flying a white flag was seen steering for the *habitation*. In response, a white flag was run up on the Fort. "An English gentleman," as Champlain is careful to explain, carried the summons to surrender from Louis and Thomas Kirke, as agents for their brother David, who was in command of the English fleet. Champlain admits that every form of courtesy was observed by his English captors. He reflects on the opposite treatment his men received from the renegade Frenchman, who had assisted and piloted the English fleet. He is a little puzzled to account for the conduct of the English visitors, which was so different from the popular estimate of their character. He explains it by the strain of French blood in the veins of the "Quers," as he always called the Kirkes; Louis Quer was always courteous, because a Frenchman by nature, and a lover of France, his mother having been a French woman of Dieppe. As if this explanation of the anomaly of a Scotchman being a gentleman were not sufficient, Champlain further indulges in the supposition that the courtesy was assumed in order to induce the French to remain, and thus avoid the necessity of replacing them with Englishmen, against whom Champlain supposes Kirke had a positive repugnance. The Kirkes must certainly, from whatever sources they inherited their fine feeling, have possessed it to an eminent degree, for they seem to have forgotten, or forgiven, the obloquy cast upon them in Paris the previous winter, when they were burnt in effigy on the receipt in France of the news of the defeat of de Roquemont's fleet.

The negotiations between Champlain and the brothers were sufficiently protracted to save the honor of the noble man thus

thrown helpless on their mercy, and avoid the appearance of a precipitate capitulation. The letter which the English sailor carried to the unfortunate governor was formulated in as generous terms as a challenge to surrender could well be. The messenger could not speak French, and no one at the *habitation* could speak English, but as Father Joseph and the envoy could converse in Latin, the explanations on both sides were made in that scholarly language. Poor Champlain acknowledged in writing the receipt of the summons to surrender, and asked for time to answer, but warned the Kirkes not to approach within gunshot of the Fort, nor to set foot on land pending negotiations, which he promised should not be protracted beyond the following day. Father Joseph also went on board as Champlain's emissary to confer verbally, and to inquire why, in a time of peace, which Kirke's emissary admitted to exist, they were attacked. The answer was vague, as such answers usually are, when it is a case of *force majeure*. Kirke doubtless considered that all due allowance for the susceptibility of his foe had been made, when he warned Father Joseph that an answer must be given the same evening. He therefore sent the messenger back before dark for the Governor's decision. It was already prepared. Champlain demanded that the Kirkes should produce their commission from the British King, that his men should retain their arms, and that all who wished to leave, whether laymen or Churchmen, Friars or Jesuits, should be transported to France. He especially required that these conditions apply to his little Indian girls—Hope and Charity. No violence was to be shown any one, layman or priest, to those who might surrender at the fort or to his brother-in-law, Boullé and the crew and passengers under his command, who had been captured in the Gulf. Provisions were to be supplied to those who elected to return to France, and such should be allowed to transport their private holdings of skins and other property. They were to be provided with a ship of sufficient size to carry them to France within three days of their arrival in Tadousac.

Louis and Thomas Kirke promptly replied that their brother's commission was in due form, and would be exhibited when they

had reached Tadousac; that they could not supply a separate ship for the transportation of Champlain and his colonists to France, but would guarantee their safe passage to England, and thence to France, a safer passage than if they had to defend themselves against another hostile English fleet which might intercept them. They agreed to allow the Frenchmen of quality to retain their arms, personal property and private stock of furs, but limited the wardrobe of the soldiers to one beaver skin coat apiece. They declined to take the two little Indian girls.

The terms being accepted, the fleet approached on the 20th, and the English force of 150 men landed. Then Champlain pleaded in person, and not in vain, to Louis Kirke for his two Indian girls, to whom he had become attached through two years of fatherly care and tutelage. Any misapprehension as to the relation of the pure-hearted, single-minded commander to his charge was quickly dispelled. But on the representation of the renegade interpreter, Marsolet, at Tadousac, that the Indians would resent the removal of the girls to France, now that the French no longer held the Fort, David Kirke decided to send them back to Quebec, where they were placed under the charge of the wife of Couillard.

Champlain requested that an armed force be detailed to protect the property of the Recollet Fathers and the Jesuit Priests, and the houses of Madame Hubou and her son-in-law Couillard. Then the keys of the *habitation* and the company's stores were delivered up, and the stock of goods was handed over by the clerks Corneille and Olivier, the company's chief factor, old Pontgravé, being saved the humiliation of making the surrender in person by an attack of gout.

Kirke put the stores in charge of one Le Baillif, a former clerk of de Caen, whom Champlain accuses of appropriating from 3,000 to 4,000 beaver skins, and whom he places in the class of unutterable scoundrels, with Etienne Brulé, Champigny, an old Huron interpreter, Nicholas Marsolet, who had served as interpreter with the Montagnais, and Pierre Ray, all Frenchmen, who had been captured with Boullé in the ship near Gaspé, and had been compelled to pilot Kirke's fleet up the river, which they had

done so skilfully as to outsail Emery de Caen, who had the start of them.

Louis Kirke absolutely refused, until they sailed, to allow Champlain to vacate the Fort or abandon his own quarters, though as in duty bound, he nominally took possession. It must have been a pretty scene to watch these two gentlemen, vying with one another to mitigate the embarrassment of the one and the grief of the other, and to smooth over the asperity which their hostile relations might naturally create. "Louis Kirke plodded up the hill," Champlain tells us, "to take possession of the fort. I wished to surrender to him my quarters, but he persistently refused to allow me to leave them until I should leave Quebec. In this and in every way he showed me every courtesy imagination could conceive of. I begged permission that mass be celebrated, and this request he also granted to our party. I also begged that he give me an inventory and a certificate of all the effects seized with the habitation, and this he gladly accorded me." This inventory appeared again and again in subsequent law proceedings. It tells a woeful tale of the deplorable neglect to which the old company exposed its servants, and the disgraceful risk the government was selfishly willing to allow its subjects to run, isolated as they were in the wilderness, surrounded by savages, and open to attack by an energetic, ever watchful enemy, like England. The list exhibits the total armament with which Champlain, with all his high-sounding titles, was expected to defend himself and New France: Four brass pieces, weighing about 150 pounds each; 1 brass piece, weighing about 80 pounds; 15 iron boxes; 2 small iron pieces of ordnance, about 800 weight each; 6 murderers; 1 small iron piece of ordnance of 80 pounds weight; 45 small iron bullets for the brass pieces; 6 iron bullets; 26 brass pieces, weighing 3 pounds each; 40 pounds of powder belonging to Mons. de Caen of Dieppe; 30 pounds of metal belonging to the French King; 13 whole and 1 broken musket; 1 arquebus; 1 trap; 2 large arquebuses, 6 feet to 7 feet in length, belonging to the King; 2 other arquebuses; 10 halberts; 12 pikes belonging to the King; 5,000 to 6,000 lead bullets; some pigs of lead; 60 cuirasses, two of them

complete and pistol proof; 2 brass petards, weighing 800 pounds; carpenters' tools, etc.; a wind-mill, a hand-mill and some utensils.

In his deposition before Sir Henry Martin in the November following, Champlain besides enumerating substantially the above articles, believes that there were in the company's store 2,500 to 3,000 beaver skins, some boxes of knives and some iron shafts (arrow heads). Kirke, in his deposition, gives the number of beaver skins as only 1,713. But of provisions, Champlain admits that there were none. He says "at the time of taking of the said fort or habitation, the men in the same had been living by the space of about two months on nothing but roots." Two of the Recollet Friars offered to try and escape with the Indian Chomina and thus, far from the reach of the English, retain their hold on the mission. Father Le Caron was favorable to the scheme, but Champlain opposed it. He may have feared political complications, or doubted the constancy of the good friars, having a vivid recollection of their holy intention and faulty fulfillment in a similar crisis the year before. Had the friars carried out their proposal, it would have been more difficult for the Jesuits to supplant them on the restoration of the colony to the French rule.

These preliminaries accomplished, the English ensign was hoisted on the fort on Sunday, the 22nd of July, and saluted by a salvo from the fleet and by the firing of the little guns on the fort itself and the *habitation*. On the following day Thomas and Louis Kirke visited the Recollet Monastery and the House of the Jesuit Fathers. They accepted the offer of some religious paintings, and the Protestant minister did not refuse the gift of some of the good fathers' books. Amid such amenities the sorrowful day passed. By the 24th all arrangements had been completed for the transportation of those who chose to leave. The articles of capitulation having been signed, Champlain pathetically admits that every day's delay seemed a month; and therefore he and his little Indian girls were allowed to embark on board the three boats, and proceed with Captain Thomas Kirke to Tadousac.

While Champlain finds difficulty in accounting for the cour-

tesy of his captors, he roundly abuses Marsolet and other renegade countrymen, whom he accuses of robbing the company's store of its cash and the chapel of some holy ornaments, though they professed to be Catholics. Sagard, on the other hand, describes how the clergy hid their vestments and principal church ornaments. But there is often in these defamatory passages of the edition of 1632 a false ring, unlike the calm candor of his earlier narrative, that excites suspicion that, either his own mind was under extraneous influence when writing, or that the manuscript, as already suggested, was revised by others.

It is not stated how many, or who they were, that elected to remain in Canada. It would seem that Kirke was willing that as many as could should stay, but he especially urged Madame Hébert and her son-in-law, Couillard, as well as the members of religious orders, to remain and reap their harvests. He even removed the restrictions to trade with the Indians, which had been so great a grievance under the company's rule. Nicholas Blundell, in his deposition made in the following November, states that all the people of the said fort and *habitation*, except sixteen, were sent away—some to go to France, and the rest to be distributed among the savages in the country. The Abbé Laverdière, in his notes, computes, from references made by Champlain and from entries in the *Registre de Notre Dame de Quebec*, that not less than twenty-one, or about one-quarter of the population—and that the best element of the whole—remained in Canada. The families of Hébert, Couillard, Abraham Martin, whose name has been perpetuated in that of the famous battle field, together with Pierre de Tosles and Nicolas Perrot, probably remained, as the seed from which sprang the sturdy French-Canadian race.

Champlain was not fated to reach even Tadousac without further adventure. Kirke's ships sighted a French sail in the river. It proved to be Emery de Caen's ship carrying stores to the needy garrison in Quebec and news of the peace. They nevertheless joined battle, and de Caen, overmatched, struck his flag, after a close hand to hand engagement. Sagard claims the victory was obtained by the refusal of the Huguenots in de Caen's

ship to fight against their fellow-religionists; but while Sagard's statement of what he actually witnessed carries conviction of veracity, the stories he relates at second-hand convey a different impression. The two ships were not ill-matched, but when Kirke's two schooners came to his assistance, de Caen had to surrender.

It was the 9th of September before Pontgravé, the priests, and the principal detachment of those who were to leave, embarked for Tadousac. It would seem that the priests were ultimately given no option in the matter. Had the result of the engagement between Thomas Kirke and de Caen been different, de Caen, with the assistance of those still in Quebec, deprived of arms as they were, might have recovered the post. But during the interval no resistance was made to the English occupation. The time was occupied by Louis Kirke in making preparations for his own safety, and for transporting to Tadousac those who were to leave; while the latter were busy making the best disposal they could of their own property. The Recollet Friars, confident of their return, hid in the woods or buried such of their valuables as would not suffer from exposure, and packing their vestments in a leather trunk deposited them with some trustworthy guardian. Champlain was the only compulsory emigrant allowed to take all his personal effects with him. But, until they sailed, the priests were permitted to say mass daily, Louis Kirke even supplying them with wine from his stores, with which to celebrate the sacrament. His liberality indeed excited doubt in the priestly mind as to the sincerity of his reformed convictions. They probably did not appreciate the wide difference in temper and creed between a French Huguenot and an English Puritan, or even churchman, of the reign of Charles the First. Before leaving the St. Lawrence David Kirke himself made a flying trip from Tadousac to Quebec, and assured those who remained of fair, liberal treatment, and promised them that business would be conducted with more activity, and on more liberal terms, than heretofore.

Thus ended the first serious attempt at French colonization. For twenty-one years the experiment had lasted of trying to build up a colony on the basis of a narrow and exclusive national policy, through the agency of a commercial company. The State

desired to see the valley of the St. Lawrence inhabited, but shrank from entrusting power to any company which would encourage individual initiative. The Church strove to convert the savages, and would gladly have peopled the great waste with industrious Frenchmen; but its principles compelled it to exclude the most enterprising of the French population, the Huguenots. The trading companies, even if their interests had induced them to promote immigration, which was not the case, could offer but scanty encouragement to an enterprising merchant or to a laborer. Neither could engage in trade without infringing on the company's exclusive privileges. A man could not take up land—although a whole continent lay before him unoccupied—without a special grant from the Crown. He could not follow his primitive instincts and join a roving Indian band without falling under the stricture of the government. He dare not indulge in any freedom of religious action or speech, without bringing down upon himself the severest censure of the clergy, who composed a vigilant police force, consisting of about one-tenth of the total white population. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that, after twenty-one years of such adverse conditions, the colony, including the priests, numbered somewhat less than one hundred souls; that only an acre and a half of land was under cultivation, and that draft oxen and a plow had been imported by one inhabitant only, Louis Guillaume Couillard, the son-in-law and one of the heirs of Louis Hébert. Let it be noted that this does not include the land cultivated by the Recollets and the Jesuits. Champlain says, "The Jesuits had land enough under cultivation to support themselves and the twelve servants, and no more; whereas the Recollets had four or five acres under cultivation." But Champlain, or perhaps his editor, implies that during the previous year the friars were partial in the distribution of their surplus. Champlain says that there were fifty-five to sixty people employed by the company, but this estimate did not include the women and children, and priests. Adding to the sixty employees five women, eight children, four Recollet friars and four Jesuit priests, we have eighty-one; and allowing that there were twenty in the Huron country, the total is about one hundred, as stated by Champlain.

CHAPTER IX.

The Company of One Hundred Associates, and Quebec from 1629 to 1632, Under the Kirkes.

During the two whole years Champlain was shut up in Quebec prior to its capture, he received no official communication from the King or the Viceroy, or even from the company's head office. Desdames, the new company's head clerk, whom de Roquemont in 1628 had sent with eleven men to reconnoitre, and who had eluded Kirke's fleet, brought him a letter from his friend, Father Lalemant. This told him of the breaking out of war; of the dissolution of the old company; of the formation of that of the One Hundred Associates, and of the masterful management of public affairs by the haughty Cardinal. Much of even this news was more than a year old.

In very truth, while he had been doing his best merely to keep alive the little band of Frenchmen struggling with adversity on the St. Lawrence, events were occurring which were to determine definitely and permanently the character of the future colony and the complexion of its government. France, during the reign of the last king of the Valois race, had passed from feudalism to national unity and absolute monarchy. The reign of Henry IV., the first of the Bourbons, was occupied in securing his own ascendancy and in reconciling his new position, as a convert to Romanism and King of a Roman Catholic state, with his old position as champion of the Protestant Reformation, which he had nominally abandoned, while still sympathizing with his former allies. The period of distraction which followed, under the regency of his Queen widow, Marie de Medici, and his weak, favorite-ridden son, Louis XIII., afforded opportunity for the forces which opposed monarchical centralization to organize into two violent factions. One was headed by the great nobles, whose paramount object was to re-

cover their lost privileges. The other was a resuscitation of the Protestant revolt against absolutism in Church and State; for while Republican ideas were being openly promulgated in other reformed countries as a corollary to liberty of conscience, in France the Huguenot church organization assumed, under a similar disguise, political functions which were little short of revolutionary. Thus it happened that nobles, whose real principles were in favor of feudal reaction, sat side by side with ardent clerical politicians in the Huguenot council room, and fought shoulder to shoulder with genuine Huguenot zealots on the battle field. In France, as elsewhere, leaders of reform were to be found who under the guise of religious enthusiasm concealed selfish personal aims or political ambitions.

So matters stood when there arose to power one of the greatest statesmen of any age. As Bishop of Luzon, Armand Jean du Plessis appeared as the friend in turn of Marie de Medici, of her tiring woman, Eleanor Galigai, of the Queen Regent herself, and even of the King's favorite, the Queen's bitterest enemy, Luines. As Cardinal Richelieu, risen to power, he was as willing as in the days of his unsatisfied ambition to attain his ends by conciliation, if conciliation happened to serve his purpose better than force. And, being a statesman and not a bigot, he was prepared to use indifferently the forces of Protestantism or the armies of the Church to subdue his master's and his country's enemies. In Richelieu's estimation the King's foes were necessarily his country's, for he believed in the Divine Right of Kings; but in practice France's friends were his friends, and France's foes his own foes, for he wielded the royal power more completely than he could have done as premier of a constitutional monarchy. With him religious predilections were subordinate to the claims of statecraft. He was a Prince of the Church, but he was also the Minister of France. When the interests of France could be subserved by the Church and its agents, he was ready to use both; but if he considered that the interests of France demanded toleration of the Church's enemies, he would tolerate them. Pliable if political exigencies demanded it, he was inexorable and inflexible in carrying out his set purposes, yet without

vindictiveness. In person he planned and executed the siege of La Rochelle, and neither the risk of losing political power nor peril of life would induce him to leave the trenches until the rebellious city had submitted, and the political aspirations of the Huguenots had been crushed forever. Having once taught the reformers the hopelessness of their republican aspirations, he appreciated too justly the value of their enterprising spirit to follow up his victory by punitive measures which might have driven them out of France. The motive of his policy was to strengthen the power of the monarchy and make it independent of popular control. As the king needed trained men to navigate the ships of his mercantile marine, to manage the mercantile affairs of the country, and to operate the looms of his factories, this great statesman was too wise to commit the folly perpetrated by Louis the Great, the next occupant of the throne, who, blinded by his own glory, rashly revoked without any justification the Edict of Nantes, and so drove the most enterprising merchants and most skillful mechanics and operatives from the realm.

Nevertheless, could Richelieu have foreseen the full effect of his own acts, he would have hesitated in going as far as he did. In razing La Rochelle; in crushing Protestantism; in cancelling de Caen's contract; in putting restrictions on the Huguenot mercantile spirit and maritime operations, he was effectually checking the ardor and enterprise of the only element in France's population which showed any special aptitude or ambition in the direction of building up a naval power for France. The greatest Minister of Marine who has ever presided over that department in France dealt, unconsciously, with his own hand, the most fatal blow to French progress and reform.

To decide wisely, under the embarrassing conditions created by the rebellious Huguenots, was indeed almost impossible. The difficulty with which the Cardinal was met in determining his colonial policy was that of maintaining the absolute authority of the Crown if free scope were allowed to individual enterprise. In an old land, where prejudices and precedents, family memories and instincts, retain men in the paths trodden by their forefathers, the bulk of mankind needs to be stimulated to effort in

new directions, whether of action or of thought. It is very different with communities consisting of men who have gone forth to seek their fortunes, and make new homes for themselves, in lands beyond the sea. No stimulus is usually needed to induce them to leave the beaten track. To Richelieu's mind it was clear that, to succeed in creating a submissive community, he must select as colonists those of his countrymen who, as good Catholics, could be depended on to fear God and honor the King. In order to check all exuberance of enterprise, he excluded the Huguenots from New France, and instituted a system of government which minimized to the utmost the influence of the people. To prevent the achieving of commercial independence, by the colonists, with all that might flow therefrom, he vested the rights of trade in the Company; and he used the Jesuit order as educators and missionaries for promoting the doctrine of absolute submission to State and Church, and as detectives for reporting the first symptoms of political disquiet. Though de Monts and the de Caens had the usual selfishness of men enjoying exclusive privileges, individually they and their co-religionists would probably have made pushing, industrious settlers, had they been permitted and encouraged, not only to hold land in Canada, but also to engage freely in mercantile pursuits.

The Puritans of New England contained excellent elements for building up a vigorous and self-reliant nation. The same can hardly be said of the rank and file of the settlers who were sent out to New France. Were the religious differences between the two groups the real cause of success or failure? If not the sole cause, they were certainly important factors. The Puritan policy of religious exclusiveness in New England, aimed against Roman Catholics, was as indefensible on theoretical grounds as Richelieu's colonial policy of religious exclusiveness aimed against the Huguenots; but practically the results were widely different. The ultra-Protestants of New England were bigots, wedded to certain notions of government in Church and State; but their notions were their own notions, had been formed independently, without suggestion from the parent State, and were held tenaciously. These men recognized no authority

but their own interpretation of the Bible, and were thus free to commence at once and frame a State for themselves on original lines. They engaged in trade with the same disregard to rules and regulations, whether imposed by King or Parliament, if what they deemed their inherent rights were disregarded, as they showed to the decrees of Church and Ecumenical Councils, when they clashed with their private judgment. In Canada, on the other hand, the immigrants selected to build up New France were obedient vassals of the State, and, if possible, still more obedient children of the Church. They accepted the doctrine of their civil and ecclesiastical rulers that to act for themselves was illegal and to think for themselves nothing less than impious.

In 1626 or 1627 Richelieu assumed the portfolio of Commerce and Navigation. A Frenchman to-day can easily realize the impulse which drove the great minister to foster colonization as a check to the progress of his successful rivals, England and Holland, in the same field. He had hardly assumed office when the Company of Morbihan was organized under his auspices to trade with New France, the West Indies, and the Baltic. It consisted of one hundred shareholders, had a capital of 1,600,000 livres, and was endowed, not only with commercial privileges, but with judicial and executive functions of so arbitrary a kind that they excited the determined hostility of the Estates of Brittany, whose Parliament of Rennes could not be cajoled or coerced into enregistering its articles of incorporation. It therefore lapsed in 1627, without ever having used its capital in any one of the many directions contemplated. It was, however, the precursor of the organization which ruled Canada for more than thirty years, the company of the One Hundred Associates of New France or Canada—"La Compagnie du Canada, établie sous le titre de Nouvelle France ou la Société de Cent Personnes du Canada." It was evident to everyone that Canada would never be colonized by such private associations as those controlled by de Monts or de Caen. The failure, which was attributed by the priests to the Huguenot proclivities of the partners, was really due to the spirit of monopoly which the very terms of the concession called into being. It is strange that a long-sighted statesman like Richelieu

should have believed he could cure the abuses that had sprung up in connection with a small company by creating a larger one, endowed with the same exclusive powers which had been the obvious cause of those abuses.

There were only eight or nine associates in de Caen's company. Champlain, in his deposition before Sir Henry Martin, named as the partners whom he recollected, Mons. Guillaume de Caen, of Dieppe; his nephew, Emery de Caen, of Rouen; Dolu, of Paris; Mons. de Nouveau, of Paris; Mons. Deschenes, of St. Malo; with them were three or four others, whose names he could not remember. His brother-in-law, Eustace Boullé, supplied the names of two of the forgotten partners, Mons. Harvey and Mons. Devostre.

Richelieu vainly imagined that his own assumption of the position of Viceroy of Canada (he had bought out the Duke de Ventadour), and his patronage of the company, would ensure its fulfilling the mission assigned to it, no matter what its constitution might be. The bitter feeling in ecclesiastical circles, and the jealousy of the mercantile community, coupled with the admitted failure of de Caen to fulfill his promises, made the cancellation of his privileges a foregone conclusion. The constitution of the Morbihan Company supplied certain of the features which we find in that of the company of the One Hundred Associates, the charter of which bears date April 29, 1627. At this very moment the Huguenots were marshalling their forces, under the ill-advised encouragement of England and Holland, to defy Louis XIII. and Richelieu, and extort from them by force of arms a modified political independence. What wonder, therefore, that the document was distinctly hostile to those sectaries? There were times when English sovereigns thought that encouraging schismatics to emigrate was the easiest way of disposing of them. But Richelieu was made of different stuff from the Stuarts.

Despite the clause of the company's charter providing that none but natural born Frenchmen holding the Catholic faith might enroll themselves as members, we find that Emery de Caen and his Huguenot crew had to be entrusted with the dangerous venture of carrying relief to Champlain in the summer of 1629. Richelieu was too wise a man to be rigidly bound

by his own rules. Throughout his whole career he was regarded with distrust by the ultra-Catholics, on account of his leniency towards the Huguenots after they had been conquered, and on account of his willingness to ally himself with Protestant powers in order to crush his Catholic enemies. His illiberal colonial policy was therefore not dictated by religious fanaticism, but by motives of statecraft. It harmonized with the absolutism of his political creed. As he was unable to exterminate the Huguenots and eliminate their doctrine from Old France, he resolved to make use of them and their foreign allies to strengthen his position at home and abroad. None the less he objected to them and their republican aspirations; and, in the new society he was founding, he determined to prevent the growth of any such political heterodoxy by forbidding the seed of schism to be sown in its virgin soil. To that end he preferred to use as his instruments the astute and learned Jesuits, rather than the narrow-minded Recollet Friars. They would be as watchful against the introduction of heresy and its political counterpart as the Dominicans themselves, while they would cultivate in the community a higher and stronger type of Catholicism than any of the mendicant orders.

The incorporators of the new company were the Cardinal himself, the Sieur de Roquemont, Houel, Comptroller General of the salt works in Brouage, de la Lataignant, a *bourgeois* of Calais, Dablon, syndic of Dieppe, Du Chesne, magistrate of the town of Havre de Grâce, and Jacques Castillon, of Paris. The act, after reciting the usual mixed motives which had induced the Kings of France to encourage colonization, namely, to extend the Faith, and with it commerce, goes on to deplore the failure of the previous company to fulfill the conditions of the grant, and then declares that, in virtue of the powers vested in him, the said Lord Cardinal, consents and agrees, subject to the good pleasure of his Majesty, to grant a charter to the new Company of One Hundred members, on the following conditions:

Before the close of 1628, three hundred mechanics were to be transported to the colony, and within fifteen years subsequently the number of immigrants was to be increased to 4,000 souls of both sexes; for three years the company was to support the im-

migrants, after which period they would be expected to support themselves by agriculture from the lands assigned to them. No foreigner was to enter New France, and no Frenchman who did not profess the Catholic Faith. For every post (*habitation*) erected in the colony during the sixteen years terminating in 1643, the company must support three priests to labor among the Indians, though they may commute this charge by a grant of cleared land. As a return for the assumption of these burdens and the fulfillment of these obligations, an absolute transfer is made to the company of all the lands which France claims between Florida and the Arctic Circle and between Newfoundland and the Great Lakes, with all lands watered by the tributaries of the St. Lawrence which they may acquire by exploration, the King, as feudal lord, reserving only "le ressort de la foi et hommage" and claiming as mark of fealty a gold crown of the weight of eight marks, on his accession. The support of the officers of justice, who were to be nominated by the company, but confirmed by the Crown, is to fall on the company. The company is to have the right of sovereign power in matters of offence and defence. Lands within the territory ceded to the company and by the company to the seigneurs are to be held as under previous grants. Exclusive right to traffic in furs is granted in perpetuity to the company, and exclusive fishing rights for fifteen years. The inhabitants may traffic with the Indians, but must sell what they purchase to the company or its factors, and the company must buy beaver skins at forty sols Tournois apiece. The King loans the company two ships, which, if lost otherwise than by capture in war, are to be replaced by them. He also makes over to them four little brass culverins. As an inducement to skilled workmen to immigrate, artisans who have worked for six years in Canada on returning to France may assume the title of *maîtres de chefs d'oeuvres*, and open shops in Paris and other towns. And to encourage manufacturing in Canada, it is provided that all manufactured goods may enter France free of duty for fifteen years. No one is to lose rank by engaging in trade, or investing in the stock of the company. On the contrary, his Majesty will ennoble twelve of the plebeian members of the company. All descendants of

French immigrants and all converted Indians are to be free citizens, and entitled to all the privileges of citizens of France.

The first signature of the document is that of Armand, Cardinal Richelieu, the second that of de Roquemont, the unfortunate Admiral who, when in charge of the first fleet sent by the company, had to fight Kirke in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The articles of partnership adopted by the associates, and approved by the Cardinal, fixed the capital at 300,000 livres, to be subscribed in equal proportions of 3,000 livres by each of the One Hundred Associates, and payable 1,000 livres January 1, 1628, and the balance as called for by the directors; but any subscriber may withdraw by forfeiting his first payment, provided no profits have been divided. Of the directors one-third at least shall be merchants. Then follow the rights and duties of the board, which are very ample. The board is not compelled to call to its council any of the shareholders, unless when recommending appointments to the King, or deeding land in excess of two hundred acres, in which case twenty shareholders, including the members of the board, in person or by proxy, must deliberate in the presence of the Intendant, and no act of the board shall be valid unless signed by the Secretary and four directors. The principal office of the company is to be in Paris; but offices may be opened in the most notable maritime and inland towns of the realm, if the business of the company should in time warrant it. The directors living out of Paris may be represented at the board meeting by proxy. All the fiduciary officers must keep proper cash books, journals and ledgers, and full statements of account must be sent to the Paris office within three months of the sailing and arrival of vessels, and to the local boards at Rouen, Bordeaux, and other local offices, within one month after the sailing or arrival of the company's packet. The directors or agents are forbidden to involve the company in debt in excess of its capital. All the profits accruing from the company's operations during the first year are to be funded; afterwards, one-third of the profits may be distributed, and two-thirds funded. All wages are to be paid by the directors, but directors themselves are to receive no other compensation than a pound of white candles and the privilege of taking part

in any meeting of the company's representatives anywhere; but in case of travel on company's affairs, they are to be compensated. The directors are authorized to devote 500 louis a year to charity—but only out of the profits. The treasurer shall be appointed by the board. He shall keep a set of books, and annually make a balance sheet. He shall make an annual statement which shall be audited by the Intendant and the directors, and the audit shall be final, as though all directors were present. Any shareholder of the company may subdivide or sell part of his share, but he and his associate have only one vote. But any shareholder may sell his share, and the purchaser of a competent associate shall be recognized as an original associate. The creditors of an associate must accept the published statement of the company's affairs, and must submit to the regulations of the company without enjoying any vote. In case of the death of an associate, the heirs must appoint one of the members to represent the interests of the associate.

The Cardinal is requested to nominate as Intendant of the company's affairs the Sieur de Lauzon, who shall be chairman of the board, and preside at its weekly and at all extraordinary meetings. The board is to consist of twelve directors, of whom six are to be residents of Paris and the others of towns within the realm. The twelve directors are to hold office for two years, and at the biennial election six of the old directors are to be re-elected. The annual meeting is to be held at the Intendant's house in Paris, or some other convenient place, on the 15th day of January. Associates who cannot attend are requested to express in writing their views as to the management of the company. At the annual meeting measures shall be carried by a majority of votes. The directors are empowered to modify these by-laws as circumstances may suggest. The above articles were confirmed by the King on May 6, 1628. Such were the ample powers of the company of the One Hundred Associates, but five years had yet to elapse before they were put into execution.

England in 1627 took up the cause of the Huguenots. Buckingham, Charles the First's favorite, in revenge for his slighted

addresses to Queen Anne of Austria, Louis XIII.'s queen, is said to have instigated the Huguenots to make their fatal and foolish, and what proved to be their last real struggle, for political power. At any rate, whether England fomented the trouble or not, she sent a fleet under Buckingham to help her ally. Without any declaration of war, the English commander appeared before Rochelle in July, 1627, for the purpose of raising the siege of that place. But, even as a military engineer, Richelieu was more than a match for his rebellious countrymen, aided by their powerful sympathizers; for the memorable siege terminated by the fall of Rochelle on October 29, 1628.

It was in the beginning of the year 1628 that the company of the One Hundred Associates was to begin its active operations. As a first step towards carrying out their pledges, they fitted out a fleet under the Sieur de Roquemont to convey colonists and priests to the colony. De Roquemont was the bearer of a commission to Champlain to act as commandant in New France, and in that capacity to begin his administration by taking an inventory of de Caen's property, after which he was to make a report as to the state of the colony, and forward it, with the inventory, to Richelieu. It was many a day before Champlain received his commission, and, as we have seen, he made the inventory not for the French Minister of Marine, but for Admiral Kirke. De Roquemont's fleet escaped two Rochelle ships in the Channel, but, as already narrated, fell in with Kirke's fleet in the Gulf.*

While Kirke and other brave, restless fellows of the west coast of England were taking advantage of the war to gratify their love of adventure and fill their pockets, the nation was fretting over Buckingham's disgraceful campaign and retreat from before Rochelle. Not only had this deeply wounded the national pride and

* Kirke, in his deposition before Sir Henry Martin, Knight, says that, in the expedition against the French in 1628, he was sent forth at the charge of his late father, Gervan Kirke, and other merchants in London. The expedition of 1629 was fitted out by Sir William Alexander the younger—the individual to whom Charles I. had given such a sweeping grant of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia—by Kirke's father, and others. Sir William had a commission as a privateer under the broad seal of England, and his instructions were to transplant the French from Canada, and utterly to expel them—a task which he executed with remarkable thoroughness.

hurt the Protestant cause, but it had emptied the already impoverished treasury. It was in his attempt to replenish it in his own peculiar, arbitrary way that Charles involved himself in the disastrous war with his people, which was destined to be much more momentous in its bearing on popular liberty than any temporary advantages which the Rochellois might have won through England's assistance.

It was in November, 1627, that Buckingham, with his discomfited fleet and army, returned. The Commons met in the following March, and Charles was compelled to sign the famous Petition of Rights on May 28, in order to obtain relief from his pecuniary embarrassment. Neither his temper nor that of the people was improved by the military events of 1627. A new expedition to relieve Rochelle was demanded by public opinion, but not under the leadership of the gallant courtier. Nevertheless, despite the national protest, another fleet was about to sail under the same amateur general when Felton's dagger relieved him of the command. Charles may have been glad in the spring of 1628 that Kirke and his friends should wage war on their own account, to his and their possible profit; but before Kirke set sail again in 1629 for the St. Lawrence, Charles had learned that his bitterest enemies were those of his own household, and that he had more to fear from his own people than from his wife's kinsfolk across the channel. He was not reluctant, therefore, to sign the treaty of Suze on April 24, 1629.*

Kirke had sailed from Greenwich on the 15th of the same month with a fleet of six ships and two pinnaces, to pick the fruit he had left hanging on the tree the autumn previously, for he knew full well that Champlain could oppose no resistance,

* Article VII. of Treaty of Suze. Inasmuch as many vessels with letters of Marque and armaments cannot be advised of this peace nor receive orders to abstain from all hostile acts, it is agreed by this article that nothing which may happen within two months after this agreement shall derogate from or prevent this peace or interfere with the good will between the two crowns; it being, however, agreed that anything seized within two months after the signature of this treaty shall be restored by the one party to the other. By the terms of Article III. of the Treaty of St. Germain en Laye eight days are allowed the British commanders of fortified posts to vacate them with their arms and personal effects; but three weeks in addition, or if necessary a longer time, are allowed civilians to depart with their property.

and must capitulate on demand. He may therefore have been ignorant when he captured Quebec, of the turn affairs had taken, though Boullé told Champlain, when they met as prisoners at Tadousac, that Emery de Caen, whom he had sighted in the Gulf before his surrender to Kirke, had told him of the signing of the treaty. He had, of course, communicated the news to the general after his capture, but it was probably the first notice Kirke had received of it. The conversation recorded after the capture of de Caen would also imply that he warned Kirke that he was acting piratically. It may have mattered little at the time to an adventurer like Kirke, who was probably not over-scrupulous as to treaties, but it mattered much ultimately, for it gave Charles a reason for disallowing his acts, restoring the conquered territory, and insisting on the surrender of the booty. The war had been entered on by England without provocation, and once Rochelle had fallen, there was no valid excuse for its continuance—the more so as Richelieu had treated his conquered foes with great magnanimity and leniency. There was, therefore, good reason for making peace and restoring territory that had been taken after peace had been signed. Nevertheless three years passed before the *fleur-de-lis* again floated over Fort St. Louis. LeClercq says that the delay was due to indifference and doubt as to the value of New France, for Old France judged of its capabilities by Cartier's and Champlain's experience. There is justification for this supposition in the fact that the diplomatic correspondence betrayed, on the part of France, greater urgency to secure payment for, or return of, the beaver skins taken from de Caen's stores than the restitution of the conquered territory. This anxiety about de Caen's property is sufficient to dispel the suspicion hinted at by Richelieu himself—though it is difficult to see how it could have been seriously entertained—that the Kirkes were instigated to attack the French possession by de Caen in revenge for the cancellation of his trading privileges. It needed no such incentive to induce an enterprising family of merchant adventurers like the Kirkes, father and sons, to attack an enemy at once so defenseless and so wealthy as the de Caen trading company, whose profits, great as they were, were probably grossly exag-

gerated by public rumor, and whose stock of furs in the Quebec storehouse may have been supposed to be many times greater than it actually was. A still stronger argument against such an injurious supposition is that de Caen was in 1632 commissioned to receive back the post of Quebec from David Kirke, and permitted to enjoy the fur trade for a year longer.*

During Kirke's occupation France made no serious demonstration against Canada; neither did the company of the One Hundred Associates make any pretense of entering on the enjoyment of their rights. On the other hand, England took no active measures to put its newly acquired territory into a state of defence, and Englishmen showed no inclination to organize colonization schemes for peopling the St. Lawrence, under the instigation either of religious enthusiasm or of mercantile gain. Charles seems to have granted somewhat the same exclusive trading advantages to a mercantile company organized by Kirke, and known as the Company of Canada, as had been enjoyed by the de Caen company; but the records of the period (*Colonial Papers*, Vol. 6, Art. 33), show that Kirke had no more power than de Monts or de Caen to repress poaching. England at this moment was drifting rapidly into civil war, and the thoughts of that energetic section of the people which might have supplied colonists were directed to more urgent issues than the driving of a few Papists from the forests of New France. The belief in England regarding the interior of the continent was that it was a land of snow and ice, more desolate than even the barren coast of New England, and not, therefore, a tempting field for agriculture. There was, consequently, no outcry, except on the part of Kirke and his fellow adventurers, when Charles agreed to restore the fields of snow and ice to Louis XIII. There might have been some opposition, though it would have availed naught, had it been known that he sold Kirke's conquests in the New World for 800,000 crowns—a sum really due by France as the unpaid balance of his wife's dowry, but which the French

* Le Clercq puts the company's trade in beaver skins alone at 100,000 crowns annually.

King, or rather the French Cardinal, refused to pay unless Port Royal, Quebec, and all that the Kirkes had wrenched from France in 1628-1629 were restored. Charles needed the money urgently, wherewith to fight his subjects, but the surrender cost England and her colonists many a million. Nevertheless, whatever the motives for the restoration, Quebec, captured three months after the treaty of peace had been signed, belonged rightfully to France, and was rightfully restored to her.

None the less must we sympathize with Captain David Kirke and his brothers. An empty title was but poor compensation for what they did, could the full value of the achievement have been foreseen; and the title was all they actually received, for the skins they brought back in 1629 were seized and ultimately surrendered to de Caen, and it is not very clear whether Kirke's legitimate claim against de Caen for provisions supplied to the starving colony and for transportation to France of the famished colonists was ever settled. He not unreasonably contended that what he gave was worth more than what he had seized, and that, had the case been tried in England, de Caen would have been required to pay him, and not he de Caen. De Caen brought in a bill for 266,000 livres, although Champlain estimated the total number of beaver skins handed over at only 3,000, from which had to be deducted those which each returning Frenchman was allowed to appropriate and carry to France, leaving a remainder of 1,713. While the miserable beaver skins were deposited, by way of sequestration, under lock and key by order of the Court of Admiralty, a certain Thomas Felty, merchant, was accused and imprisoned in the Fleet for stealing some of them. Sir W. Alexander and Captain David Kirke and their associates were meanwhile complaining to the Admiralty that they could not lock up the St. Lawrence securely against illicit skippers, who were robbing them of their privileged trade. There was thus trouble and complaint and embarrassment on all sides, and apparently little profit, despite the great value of the fur trade and the prizes taken by Kirke in 1628-1629. Poaching and suits for damages, and the short term of the trading monopoly enjoyed by Kirke and his

business co-partners, must have made the first conquest of Quebec a losing venture.

In the testimony taken in the case of the adventurers against the owners of the "Eliza of London," one of the poachers, some curious figures are given which bear on the value of the St. Lawrence trade. Thomas Roycroft says that he was willing to trade three for one, which meant three elk skins for one blanket. John Baker, Mariner, of the "Eliza," says he brought to England $5\frac{1}{2}$ casks of beaver skins and some elk skins. His share was 40 pounds of beaver skins. Captain Eustace Mann says that his ship brought from Canada 531 bear skins, which were sold for about £500, and 100 odd elk skins, which were sold for about £100. A certain Samuel Pierce Bever makes admission that he bought 880 pounds weight of beaver skins in six hogsheads, for which he paid £880, and that he and others bought about 300 pounds more from members of the crew, whence we would gather that beaver skins were worth the high price of £1 per pound weight, and bear and moose skins about £1 apiece, and that the Indians were willing to exchange three moose skins for one blanket. The trade in peltries must therefore have been temptingly profitable, and we can appreciate Kirke's and his associates' indignation at having to surrender it, together with the post of Quebec. Although during the three years of occupation no pretence was made to colonize the St. Lawrence, trade must have been more actively conducted than it had been by either de Monts or de Caen, for in a note of such things as this company had in Canada and the number of its men, made before its surrender, the following particulars are given:

"A note of all such things as the company hath in Canada and the number of men.

"Imprimis they have above 200 persons in the fort and habytation of Kebec and gone up from 400 leagues in the country for further discoverys.

"In the fort there is 16 peeces of ordnance and 8 murderers, 75 musketts and 25 fowling peeces and 10 arkebusses a Croake and 30 pistolls 8 dozen of pikes and 24 holbeards and 40 Corseletts and 10 armors of prooffe and 6 Targetts.

“In the sayd fort there is 2000 powder for the ordnance, 300 of musketts powder, and one hundred and half of fowlinge powder, Rownd shott, burd shott, Langer shott, and chrossbar shott, enough for the use of there powder, and 10 barrells more which the Maye have of the store of 3 pinaces which are there furnished with 6 peeces of ordnance a peece and 6 murderers a peece and 5 barills a powder a peece and all thinges convenyent for their Rigginge and Munition of war.

“The sayd 200 persons vittled accordinge to his Majesties allowance att sea for 18 monthes besides what they fownd upon the ground which is able to find them 6 months more soe that the are very well vittled for 2 years and within towe yeers if they worke as the have beegon the wilbee able to subsist of themselves.

“There is goods for to trade with the natives of the Contrey more then wee are able to vent in 2 yeeres which goods are no wheare vendable butt in that contry and which goods stands use in 6000 l. starlinge besides charges which doth amount to 6000 l. more.

“All sort of tooles for smithes millers masones plasterers Carpendars Joyners bricklers whillons bakers bruers ship-carpenters shoemakers and taylors.

“10 Shallops fitted with bases for the head and all other furniture.

“All sort of tooles beelonginge to the fortyfication.

“The abovesayde fort is soe well situated that the are able to withstand 10000 men and will not care for them, for whatsoever the can doe, for in winter they cannot stay in the countrey soe that whosesoever goes to beesidge them the cannot staye there above 3 monthes in all in which time the muskett will soe torment them that noe man is able to bee abroad in centry or threnches day nor night without loosing there sightes for att least eyght dayes.

“So that if please his Majestie to keepe it we doe not care what French or any other can doe thoe the have a 100 sayle of shippes and 10000 men as above sayde.

“(Sur le dos est écrit.)

"Note of all such thinges as the Company hath in Canada and the number of men."*

Although we may infer from the above memorandum that the Kirkes were not idle, the details of the occupation are meager. Champlain closes his doleful narrative with the gossip of two Frenchmen who returned with Thomas Kirke in October, 1630. It would seem that the Kirkes removed their headquarters from Tadousac to Quebec, with a view, as Champlain reasonably supposed, to concentrating their forces in anticipation of a retaliatory attack. In the summer of 1630, Captain Thomas Kirke made a trading voyage to Quebec with two ships, and returned with 300,000 livres worth of peltries, if we are to believe the report of these two Frenchmen—one a carpenter, the other a laborer—who elected to return to Old France with him. They reported a severe winter, which had carried off fourteen of the English, and a thunder storm which had killed three or four more, together with two dogs, and played havoc with the fort, and stated further that the English showed as little inclination to engage in honest husbandry, or to provide for their own support, as the French had done.

In 1631 Richelieu granted Emery de Caen a passport to trade in the *St. Lawrence*, but the Kirkes did not confirm it. They treated him, however, with their usual courtesy, and, had there been skins enough offering for both, they would have allowed him his share; but the supply was short that summer, and the best terms they would accord him was permission to land his merchandise and a clerk, and to barter his goods for peltries during the winter, if the Indians should bring in any. De Caen, on his return, regaled Champlain with a whole batch of bad news, which, despite the ex-governor's generous nature, was probably more or less grateful to him. One of the stories was that the Protestant minister had, with the renegade Frenchmen, fomented a mutiny among the English soldiers against Louis Kirke. The plot was discovered and Kirke's life was saved. He dealt leniently with the dupes of the minister,

* Colonial Papers, Vol. VI., N. 38, and Laverdière, Champlain, page 1434.

but him he imprisoned for six months in the Jesuit house, to the no slight inconvenience of the pious French, for, as the Abbé Failon tells us, while it was used as a prison no public service could be held in it. The whole story is probably composed of clerical glosses upon some minor incidents. It is repeated with appropriate reflections in Father Le Jeune's Relations of 1632. In so far as can be ascertained, the whole colony seems to have been on friendly terms with the conquerors, and the rebellious minister had other occupation than inciting to murder, for on the 19th of February, 1631, that is, during the English occupation, there being no priests, the daughter of Guillaume Couillard was christened by the Protestant minister. Louis Kirke stood as godfather, and the wife of the surgeon, Adrien Duchêne, was godmother. (Tanguay, Dict. Généalogique. Note to page 142.)

On July 13th, 1632, Quebec was restored to France, in accordance with the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, signed March 29th, 1632. The event occurred when the power of King Louis XIII. and the influence of the great Cardinal-Minister were approaching their zenith, though the summer of 1632 was a critical period in the life of both. Richelieu in May of that year, had brought Maréchal Marillac to the scaffold for conspiring with the Queen Mother; and when the apparently insignificant act of transferring a paltry fort in the wild forests of the New World was being accomplished, a serious revolt was in progress headed by Gaston d'Orléans, the King's brother, and aided by the Duc de Montmorency, against "the disturbers of the general peace, the enemies of the King and the Royal House, the dissipators of the State, and the tyrants both of men of quality and of the common people," as the conspirators styled the Cardinal. But the able minister, thus designated, triumphed; the Duke, brilliant and popular as he was, failed. On October 30th, when the dreary winter was gathering over the resuscitated but still languid colony, the head of Montmorency, the former Viceroy of New France, fell on the block. The most popular man in France sacrificed himself to a craven coward, the King's brother, who earned his own safety by swearing love and submission to all the King's advisers, and especially to Richelieu, his bitterest enemy. The audacity shown by the Car-

dinal in thus punishing by death one of the great nobles and the people's favorite for aiding a royal rebel, was not only the last act of that tragical drama of sectional strife which closed the feudal age, but it riveted on France the shackles of monarchical absolutism. In the death roll were included, with the popular hero, a number of his personal followers. Thus the feudal lord and his feudal retainers fell together, because they ventured to aid an aspiring royal rebel against the legitimate King.

All this occurred when New France was receiving its constitution from the Cardinal's hands, and it was therefore of the deepest significance to Canada, for the colonial plans of the autocrat were sure to bear the stamp of his domestic policy. Absolutism had triumphed in France, and absolutism must therefore be the rule on the St. Lawrence. Popular liberty must never be allowed even to raise its voice; and thus it would never require to be silenced. New France must be quarantined against the highly contagious disease of religious freedom, and to that end religious discussion must be prohibited. Intendants and military governors must be sent out armed with full power to direct the energies of the people into innocent paths; in other words, to thwart any aspirations towards self-government. The Jesuits also must be sent out to control religious thought and confine it within prescribed channels. The latter object was accomplished so effectually that, not only was Protestantism excluded, but such mild deviation from strict orthodoxy as Jansenism, or even Quietism, did not escape their vigilant scrutiny.

In Europe Richelieu was led, as we have seen, by political necessity to tolerate the Huguenots in France and ally himself with the great Protestant champion, Gustavus Adolphus, against Catholic Spain and Austria; but in America, as nothing was to be feared from Spain, still less from Austria, while everything was to be feared from the influence of the neighboring English colonies, all the machinery of Church and State was designed to prevent the introduction from that quarter of pernicious doctrines and examples. English statesmen had been glad to see dissent emigrate: Richelieu decided that, if there was to be a New France created over the sea, it must be moulded into exact con-

formity with his theory of arbitrary government and the most conservative traditions of old France.

Neither he nor the commercial company of his creation seems to have been very earnest in carrying out their colonization schemes. The new company of the One Hundred Associates made a futile effort to fulfill their contract in 1629. They sent Captain Daniel, of Dieppe, in command of four ships and a bark, to carry emigrants and supplies to Quebec, Champlain being commissioned as their representative. On reaching the Great Banks, Daniel heard that a certain Sir James Stuart, who claimed kinship with the royal family of England, had established a fishing station on the Island of Cape Breton, and, instead of fulfilling his commission, he took Stuart and his comrades prisoners and returned with them to France.

The Jesuits chartered a ship and sailed in the spring for Quebec, but were driven ashore on the Nova Scotia coast. Some were drowned, some were rescued by a Basque fisherman, but of these only Father Lalemant survived a second disaster off St. Sebastian. The consort ship of the Jesuits, commanded by Joubert, hearing that Quebec had fallen, prudently returned to France. We have seen what befell de Caen in charge of a third expedition. The Chevalier de Razilly was next commissioned to carry succor to the colony, and to resist the English occupation. But he never sailed, and his instructions and destination were changed.

So David Kirke remained in unopposed occupation of his post until that July day in 1632, when de Caen, without waste of gunpowder or any undue parade, resumed possession of the place. The Cardinal had allowed the old company the privilege of trading one year longer on the St. Lawrence—a prudent measure, as it gave them time to collect what property they had; but above all to remove any Huguenots without the infliction of unnecessary harshness, and to collect data for their claim against the British Government under the treaty of St. Germain. Whether all the provisions of that treaty were ever carried out is more than doubtful, for treaty obligations to pay money have too often rested lightly on State officials. By the treaty, Quebec, as well as all British conquests in Acadia and Cape Bre-

ton, were to be restored within eight days after the commandants of the posts were notified of the treaty; but three weeks longer were allowed for the English garrison and inhabitants to evacuate the country with their arms and personal possessions. For the transportation of the garrison and traders, de Caen was bound to charter and equip a ship of from two hundred to two hundred and fifty tons; and, for goods belonging to British subjects, if left in Quebec, their cost in England, with thirty per cent to cover risks, is to be paid. Quebec is to be restored, and its buildings, munitions of war and stores, are to be returned in kind or in value, as they were when captured, except those stores taken away by the English in 1629, negotiations about which had already lasted two whole years, and for which Great Britain now promised to pay de Caen 82,700 livres Tournois. Great Britain also undertook to return to de Caen the bark "St. Hélène" and its cargo; and certain other prizes were to be restored to their owners; but there are to be deducted certain expenses for care and maintenance and port dues, and 1,200 livres which de Caen is adjudged to owe the Kirkes for the transportation of the French to France in 1629. With such a complicated open account to be settled, it is easy to understand why Richelieu accorded the old Huguenot company another year of trade monopoly, for that was a period all too short within which to take inventory of stock and losses, and file claims against a foreign government, to say nothing of withdrawing the heretic traders from the country.

Father Le Jeune, in his Relation of 1632, describes as extreme the desolation of the post when Emery de Caen and de Plessis Bouchard entered into possession on the 13th of July, 1632. The *habitation* was a heap of ashes—reduced, intentionally he implies, to that condition by Thomas Kirke—though, if the story of the damage done by lightning be true, natural causes suffice to account for it. It is not clear why Kirke should have intentionally destroyed what he expected would remain his property.

In the Jesuit House all the furniture that remained was two tables. The doors were off their hinges. The windows were broken, and the garden overgrown with peas. The Recollet mon-

astery was still more deplorably desolate. Both were far removed from the fort, and, if unoccupied, they may well have advanced towards utter ruin under the ravages of the weather and the Indians, without any aid from Kirke and his Protestant minister.

The Recollets, not being permitted to return, had authorized the Jesuits to unearth the church plate, and to use it. The widow of Louis Hébert and her son-in-law, Guillaume Couillard, continued to cultivate the portion of land deeded to Hébert in 1626, which occupied probably the site of the present Seminary Garden. At her house the priests gathered together the little company of the faithful. It was not as Father Le Jeune called it "*la plus ancienne de ce pays-ci*," if the chapel were still standing near the *habitation* which Father Dolbeau built in the Lower Town in 1615. The family of Abraham Martin, the Scotch pilot, was probably of the number of those who attended this first mass. He was an industrious man, and, when not on the water, cultivated a farm forming probably part of the battlefield which was to be drenched with blood in the middle of the next century. Abraham Martin held twelve acres as a concession made by the company in 1635, and in 1648 Adrian Duchesne transferred to him thirty-two adjacent acres, all of which his heirs sold in 1667 to the Ursuline nuns, in whose possession it remained till recently, when a portion, generally admitted to be the scene of the Battle of the Plains, was bought by the Dominion Government. The family of Nicolas Pivert and Pierre Desportes, who was in charge of the Cap Tourmente establishment when it was destroyed by Kirke's men in 1628, remained in Canada, though they probably did not overtly transfer their allegiance to England, and fight on her side, as did Marsolet and Brulé.* Whether all these were Catholics may well be doubted; but religion has everywhere and at all times sat lightly on the consciences of backwoodsmen and hunters. Catholicism was to be the password, under the new regime, for admission into New France, and few of the rank and file of de Caen's Huguenot followers, if they had become enamoured of the wild life of the

* Poor Brulé did not long survive the surrender. He was killed by a Montagnais Indian in the following spring. The priests looked on his murder as an instance of divine retribution against a traitor; Champlain looked on it as a crime.

wilderness, would hesitate to use it. Even Emery de Caen, smarting under the forfeiture of his concession, permitted the Jesuit Fathers to say mass on Sunday in one of the rooms of the Châteaueau, pending the erection of a church. Within a month supplies, in men and provisions, sufficient for all immediate requirements, arrived under the Sieur de la Ralde and Captain Morieult. Among the immigrants were two notable men, Noel Juchereau and Guillaume Guillemot—sent out probably to safeguard the interests of the new company, for the de Caens may have been suspected of taking unfair advantage of their temporary concession, especially as the internal affairs of France were so disturbed. Speculation was evidently rife on that subject in Quebec. According to Father Le Jeune, it divided the little settlement during the long winter months into two factions, one party arguing in favor of the old company and the other in favor of the new. Had they known that the great Cardinal had carried his point, and that the head of Montmorency had fallen, none would have been surprised when Champlain appeared in the spring of 1633 as the Governor of New France, to assert and to enforce the claims of the new company.

The interregnum between the dissolution of the old company and the active rule of the new, including the three years of the English occupation, was therefore five years. With the arrival of Champlain in the spring of 1633 commenced the history of Quebec as a town, as distinct from a trading port, and the experiment of governing a colony by a chartered trading company under royal auspices, instead of by a partnership of merchants. The ill-success of the previous attempt to shift the responsibility and burdens of State from the shoulders of French ministers to those of private adventurers, with interests diametrically opposed to those of the colonists they pledged themselves to introduce, was explained away by saying that de Caen and his predecessors, de Monts and others, were heretics, who, through renouncing the faith of their fathers, had lost all sense of truth and honor. The new company, composed of one hundred good men and true, actuated by zeal for the glory of France and the conversion of the heathen, would, it was assumed, be willing

to put aside their selfish interests in favor of the public good, and thus build up an empire in the New World which, costing France nothing, would yet redound enormously to her profit and renown. As we shall see, it required only a few years to dispel the illusion, and prove that human greed and selfishness are not extinguished by the acceptance of any theological shibboleth; and that even sincere and earnest endeavor to propagate the faith may co-exist with vicious rules incapable of being reconciled with the dictates of patriotism. Moreover, the company's career made it evident that commercial projects opposed to the public interest, and therefore provoking opposition, cannot possibly prosper.

The Company was already in difficulties before it commenced its commercial operations in 1633, for the statement of its accounts made to the French Government in 1671 shows that it was virtually bankrupt from the first. It claimed that, immediately on its establishment, it equipped seven vessels at a cost of 164,720 livres, 9 sols, 7 deniers, which were captured in the St. Lawrence. A second fleet, equipped in 1629 at a cost of 103,966 livres, shared the same fate. The two expeditions absorbed almost all the capital of the company, which was 300,000 livres. Nevertheless, in 1630, a third expedition was despatched at a cost of 40,000 livres, which ended as disastrously as the preceding ones. These failures exhausted not only the company's capital, but its courage. Nevertheless, a subsidiary company was organized in November, 1632, which undertook to furnish the parent company with a loan of 110,000 livres for five years, in consideration of receiving one-third of the profits. The operations of the auxiliary company were successful, and enabled the parent company to make 60,000 livres of profit, although Marie and Solomon Langlois obtained a judgment against the company for 45,000 livres, to cover damages to their ship; and William de Caen made a claim against the company for 70,900 livres, which, to avoid a seizure, they compromised by a payment, extending over six years, of 30,000 livres and interest. The term of the auxiliary company's partnership expiring in 1637, a renewal was arranged for a further

period of four years. But the losses of the second partnership exceeded the gain of the first, for in 1642 the parent company owed the auxiliary company 70,464 livres, 8 sols. As the auxiliary company refused to renew their partnership, the original company was obliged to make an assessment of 1,500 livres on each of the 69 shareholders, to which number the original 100 had shrunk. The company's affairs still continuing unprofitable, it went into voluntary liquidation by act of the Council on July 24, 1643, owing 410,796 livres. But a partial liquidation of their debts was effected by charging the auxiliary company with the 60,000 livres, the share accruing to the original company of the profits of the first partnership. The assessment, though insufficient to liquidate the *dettes passives*, enabled the company to continue its operations and to make a profit of 85,000 livres during the four following years.

In 1645, by royal consent, the company resigned its exclusive privileges, and permitted the people of Canada to engage in the fur trade, reserving 1,000 pounds weight of beaver skins as annual rental, besides the right to create seignories and the ownership of the land. But the company received the royalty for five years only. If it was paid for any longer period by the inhabitants, the money was retained in the colony—not remitted to the company. Under these circumstances, the company in 1671 consented to transfer to the King (Louis XIV.) all rights and privileges, on his engagement to reimburse it for all its losses. They rendered an account as follows:

	L.	s.	d.
Cost of first expedition in 1628.....	164,720	9	0
Cost of second expedition in 1629.....	103,976	19	
Cost of third expedition in 1630.....	77,092		
1632—Assessment to pay the Langlois.....	45,000		
Liquidation of dettes passives in 1643.....	410,796	16	10
Assessment in 1642.....	103,500		
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	905,084	44	10
Interest to January, 1671.....	2,661,102		
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Losses, assessments and interest.....	3,566,186	44	10

On the credit side of the account there stood:

Profits in 1630.....	7,301 livres
Profits of the auxiliary company.....	60,000
Profits after 1643.....	85,000
Royalty in beaver skins after 1645.....	50,000

Total.....202,301 livres

The company came out the loser by over 3,000,000 livres
Tournois.

CHAPTER X.

The Passing of Champlain and the Arrival of the First Seigneurs in Quebec.

Although the affairs of the company were, as we have seen already, in such disorder that the funds for carrying on its operations had to be borrowed from an auxiliary organization, composed of Normandy merchants, of whom Sieurs Rosie and Chef-fault were the guiding spirits, all gloomy forebodings in the colony itself were dispelled on that bright morning in May, 1633, when Champlain with a fleet of three vessels hove in sight. He came in a modest state, yet as beseemed a lieutenant of the great Cardinal, to govern half a continent. The "St. Pierre," of 150 tons and 12 guns; the "St. Jean," of 160 tons and 10 guns, and the "Don de Dieu," of 80 tons and 6 guns, saluted the fort, and the fort replied with its feeble battery. Then the Governor landed and was escorted by arquebusiers and pikemen up the steep, narrow road which has always been called Mountain Hill, to the "Fort." It was almost five years since he had sadly descended it, a prisoner of war. Now he returned, inspired by the magnificent views of his great master, and cheered by his own enthusiastic belief in the future of the illimitable domain of which he was the ruler. Neither the great Cardinal's prophetic spirit nor the lieutenant's wildest dreams could possibly have grasped the magnitude of the territory which France was to explore and to claim as her own.

The chief event of importance during the summer was the arrival of a fleet of 140 Huron canoes carrying a force of 600 Indians. They made their camp on the 1st of August. The following day was devoted to a council and the interchange of presents. On the 3rd and 4th of the month the important business of selling and buying was transacted. The 5th was given over to feasting and dancing, and on the 6th they paddled away. Before their ap-

pearance a large party of Algonquins had been induced to forego their intention of proceeding to Tadóusac to trade with two English ships which lay there. The Hurons also were persuaded to dispose of their peltries at Quebec, rather than to an English vessel which seems to have pushed up the river to that point. With both Algonquins and Hurons there was endless palaver with interchange of presents, promises and prophecies. The latter went so far as to anticipate the day when the French, having built posts in the West, would intermarry with the Indians and the two peoples become one. Champlain, who shared in that hope, could hardly be expected to foresee that, whenever that should take place, the white man would sink to the level of the red man instead of raising the red man to his own. The Indians excused the existing trade with the English as being a mere measure of prudence, explaining that if they shut off their furs entirely from the English merchants, the latter would simply encourage the Iroquois to enter their domain, and would thus bring, not merely competition, but war upon themselves and the French. The Indian was in fact more astute and long-headed than his French ally. There was scope enough on the continent for the expenditure of the energies and resources of both English and French acting in friendly rivalry, had they been able to see it. Unfortunately they could not.

Father Le Jeune, the superior of the Mission, had commissioned Fathers Brebeuf, Daniel and Davost to return with the Hurons; but the Indians declined to be responsible for their safety, alleging that the Montagnais would attack them, in revenge for the detention of their tribesman. The result would be war, and serious consequences to future trade would follow, as with hostile Montagnais to the north, and savage Iroquois to the south, of the great waterway, all access to the trading posts would be shut off. The intrepid Jesuits would willingly have risked their lives, but the Governor, mindful of the interests of the colony and sensible of his weakness from a military point of view, forbade them, and on the 6th of August they regretfully saw the fleet of canoes disappear like a flock of birds. Another year had to elapse before they entered on that heroic campaign which won for the Company of Jesus such undying glory. That year they spent in studying

the habits of the Indian tribes ; in converting to Christianity a few—a very few—Montagnais ; in fulfilling with faithful punctuality their clerical functions ; and in baptizing the first negro who came to Quebec. He was a lad brought by some traders from Madagascar and given to Kirke, who left him to the care of the Jesuits.

The events of the summer made it clear to Champlain that there was danger to the company's interests in bringing the Indians of the Great Lakes so far east with their furs, and he therefore took steps towards establishing new posts and re-establishing old ones further up the river. The first he founded proved to be of little importance ; it was situated on the Island of St. Croix, near the Richelieu Rapids, fifty miles above Quebec, where the river contracts and the current at times becomes dangerous. It was soon found necessary to place the mart of traffic still further west, and the company therefore ceded to the Society of Jesus six hundred acres at Three Rivers on condition of their erecting thereon a suitable building. Three Rivers was thus restored to its former importance, but only for a short period : Montreal was founded in 1641, and within twenty years had monopolized the trade of the West.

Champlain, having seen his guests paddle away lighter than they came, and the company's warehouse filled with the cargoes of one hundred and forty canoes, a plentiful freight for his returning fleet, which this year sailed for France on August 16, earlier than usual, turned his energies to the fulfillment of a vow made during his banishment, that if he were allowed by Providence to revisit Quebec, restored to French rule, he would build a chapel to Notre Dame de la Recouvrance (Our Lady of the Restoration).

The chapel in question is supposed by Abbé Ferland to have been erected where the English cathedral now stands ; but Laverdière is probably correct in assigning to it some remains found by him to the east of the present French cathedral. It was the second church built in Quebec, the first having been the little wooden chapel erected by the Recollets in the Lower Town, which was probably burned during the English occupation, together with the store and the *habitation*, which adjoined it. The chapel of Notre Dame

de la Recouvrance was therefore the one place of worship in Quebec till it was burned in 1640; for the chapel attached to the Jesuit college was not commenced until 1650; nor used for divine service till the first Sunday of Advent, 1653. The community was in a temper of mind to be impressed keenly by religious influences. Father le Jeune (*Relation* of 1634, page 2) describes the effect which the services of the church, performed in this humble chapel, had upon the community. Greater austerity cannot have pervaded a Puritan town in Massachusetts. Champlain set the example at the castle. He forbade all idle talk at meals, and prevented it by having a book of secular history read at breakfast, and at supper the lives of the Saints. In the morning, at midday, and at evening the bell summoned the household to prayers. If Champlain had coquetted with heresy and heretics in his younger days, he was now making ample amends. A veritable revival, indeed, seems to have taken place among the least impressionable class of the community. One sinner, who had committed some offence in Carnival week, walked barefoot in the snow half a league to the Jesuit chapel to confess and obtain absolution, and during Lent the soldiers and artisans, usually so lax, who composed the major part of the population, not only submitted willingly to the prescribed fasts, but subjected themselves to discipline thirtyfold more severe than was imposed. So delighted was the good father that, breaking into poetry, he declared that "the winter, cold as it was in New France, was never so severe as to blight the blossoms of Paradise, which there bloomed the year around."

If we may trust the *Relation*, the good work prospered also among the Indians. Yet one is rather taken aback by the bellicose advice which the superior gives, when he recommends, as the most effective method of spreading the Gospel among the Hurons, making war on their enemies, the Iroquois. The experiment was followed. It certainly resulted in the conversion of the Hurons, but only after nearly the whole nation had been exterminated in the process. Another piece of advice was more in harmony with his religious profession, namely to try and wean the Indians from their roving habits. The experience of nearly

three centuries proves that, as long as wild game exists, the hunting instinct in the savage cannot be repressed. Even half-breeds like the Hurons of Lorette take grudgingly to agriculture, but engage with all the ardor of their ancestors in the hunt. In the West the Indian of the plains resisted the blandishments of civilization till the buffalo had been killed off, and the stimulus and excitement of the chase were denied him. It is discouraging after reading the enthusiastic description of the work of the Jesuit Fathers among the Montagnais, to visit the camp of their descendants to-day. Two centuries and a half have wrought numberless changes all around them, but left them stationary and savage still.

The spring fleet brought out two more Jesuit priests, Fathers Lalemant and Buteux, and Brother Jean Liégeois. There were thus in the colony eight priests and two brothers, forming perhaps even a larger proportion of the total population than before the English occupation. They soon began to scatter: Fathers Brebeuf and Daniel ascended to Three Rivers to await there the arrival of the Indians, and found a house built on the territory which the company had ceded to them, at the mouth of the St. Maurice River. The Hurons came down, but only in small bands. War had broken out with the Iroquois, and the Hurons had met with serious reverses, losing 200 dead and 100 prisoners, according to their reckoning; numbers which may safely be divided by ten. Not even the strong motives of trade could induce them to approach the country of their terrible enemies. When it was proposed that they should carry back two priests and some French laymen, they hesitated long, wavering between their desire to propitiate the French and their fear of offending their Algonquin allies, whose country they must traverse, and who were bitterly opposed to the passage of the white men. At length, under the persuasion of Duplessis and de l'Espeze, and after stipulating that the company should buy their stock of tobacco, and that the priests should do their full share of paddling, they consented to take two ecclesiastics and one French layman. Fathers Brebeuf and Daniel were the missionaries chosen. Subsequently Father Davost and five more laymen were given passage

by other bands of Hurons. Thus began that memorable mission of the Jesuits to the Hurons which won for four of its members—Jogues, Daniel, Lalemant and Brebeuf—crowns of martyrdom, and which exhibited in heroic action the self-denial and courage which the system of Ignatius Loyola can inspire in its adherents, and which compel our admiration when the service performed is untainted by political or worldly considerations. But alas! the close alliance thus established with the French, not being backed by adequate physical force, proved the ruin of the Hurons and the forerunner of numberless ills to the unfortunate colony. Henceforth the Hurons were to know no peace or rest till the small remnant of the nation, after being chased from Lake Huron to the Island of Orleans, and then from refuge to refuge, found shelter in 1693 in the picturesque village of Lorette, near Quebec. Little could the Huron hunters, when they wavered between the entreaties of the French on the one hand and the warnings of their Indian allies on the other, have foreseen through the long vista of anxious years the disasters to their tribe which were to follow in rapid succession their self-sacrificing act.

Father le Jeune, as in duty bound, devotes the long memoirs of 1634 to the doings of himself and his order in their role as Indian missionaries. A minute and interesting account of his wondrous journey with a band of Montagnais; a description of the manners and customs of these Indians; and the story of the departure of the missionaries and their arduous journey to the Great Lakes compose his principal topics. We could have wished that he had given us a little more secular history. One paragraph which he does devote to mundane matters imparts a piece of news of prime importance. It tells us of the arrival of Mons. Giffard, who was to be the first landowner to do homage as a *seigneur* in New France.

The priests and *seigneurs* were henceforth to be the two social forces of the colony, which means that the people were to be discouraged from thinking for themselves or from taking that interest in public affairs which individual ownership of land engenders. The feudal principle expressed by the aphorism "Nulle

terre sans Seigneur," was to be carried out to the full in Canada. In the old land, absolute monarchy had in its struggle with the great feudal lords come off conqueror, though the land tenure remained feudal in France up to the time of the Revolution. Still to Cardinal Richelieu, as to the French people at large, feudalism was more congenial than democracy; and its appearance in a modified form in New France cannot, therefore, be a matter of surprise. As a system it asserted the right of the King to the fealty of his subjects, and his control over the land was thereby explicitly recognized. Thus class distinctions and a modest semblance of aristocracy were preserved; the *seigneurs*, forming a semi-aristocratic class, would support and not oppose the Church, and through their influence the Cardinal's desire to impose unity of doctrine and strict submission to ecclesiastical domination would be furthered. By these measures an impressive antiquity was stamped on New France, and Quebec, as the seat of government, became an epitome of the middle ages, where the Governor, as representative of the King, the Seigneur Dominant, held his court, and received the homage of his *seigneurs* in person or by deputy, and where the priests ruled over the conduct and consciences of men, as arbitrarily as though Luther and Calvin had never resisted the authority of the Church in Europe. For more than another century the Governor of Canada remained an anomaly on the American continent, and Quebec an anachronism; as picturesque in its religious, social and official life as in its natural situation. Even now so tenaciously and tenderly does Quebec cling to its associations with the past that its civil law is founded on the *Coutume de Paris*, a feudal system replaced by the *Code Napoléon* in old France, and abolished everywhere except in the old French province of Lower Canada.

The grant of all the land in New France to the company of One Hundred Associates was conditional, and the conditions necessarily differed from those attached to feudal grants in France. The real and avowed purpose in Canada was to encourage emigration; consequently the alienation of land under conditions most likely to favor that object was obligatory on the company. It was deemed that this object would be best attained, and in a manner

that would harmonize with the national habits and instincts, by giving the land to the company of New France "forever in full property, justice and lordship," but on condition that the company "distribute the same to those who should inhabit the said country, and to others." Grants were, therefore, given of small tracts to actual settlers, like Hébert, *en fief noble*, and of large ones to *seigneurs*, who were under obligation to cede the land to actual settlers in *sub fief*, or on a rent charge; and, to induce the settlers to take up land, the *seigneurs* had to provide them with carding and flour mills, where their produce could be rendered available for use. The company was the vassal of the King, and the *censitaires*, or tenants, were vassals of the company or of their grantees, the *seigneurs*. The King reserves from the company the right of fealty and homage, and the appointment of officers of Royal Courts, who should be named and presented to him by the said associates when it should be deemed proper to establish such courts.

Under such legal conditions the Sieur Giffard became the first *seigneur* of Canada. He had been repeatedly to Canada as medical officer on one of de Caen's ships, and had enjoyed himself while at Quebec in shooting snipe and duck in *la Canardière*, and had built himself a cabin on the beach where, as narrated, the Indian murdered Dumoulin and Madame Hébert's servant in 1627. He had been taken prisoner, when returning to France in 1628, in the ship of the Sieur de Roquemont; but he had such pleasant recollections of his experience in the New World that he induced Madame Marie Renouard to marry him in 1635 and share the hardships of his rough Canadian home. Father Le Jeune records that on the 4th of June, the feast of Pentecost, Captain de Nesle brought his ship into port and had as passengers Mons. Giffard, his whole family, and several immigrants whom he was bringing out as settlers. His wife was brave in thus following her husband, for she was shortly to be confined of a daughter, the event taking place on Trinity Sunday, a week after landing.

This sturdy couple were of just the stuff to try the first experiment of the seigneur's life in New France. M. Giffard had

selected as the land to be ceded to him his old shooting ground, namely a league of the river front below Quebec on the north shore, from the discharge of the stream then known as Notre Dame de Beauport (Brown's Brook) towards the Falls of Montmorenci, by one and one-half leagues in depth. This area was extended in 1653 to four leagues in depth. As in the case of all seigniorial grants, this was no absolute gift of land. The King, as freeholder, had conditionally substituted the company in his rights, and the company in its turn substituted the *seigneur* in some of its rights, but neither the company nor the *seigneur* was absolute owner of the soil, in the sense in which private persons can own it in Great Britain and the United States. Such absolute ownership by individuals was abhorrent to the ideas of feudalism. Even the feudal lord was supposed to own and use the land only for the benefit of his feudatories.

The conditions under which grants were made to the Canadian seigneurs differed. In some few cases the seigneur possessed "Le droit de Haute, Moyenne et Basse Justice" (All powers of life and death), but, even when these extreme feudal rights were granted, they were never exercised. In several cases the grant from the king or the company was made on condition that the land granted should be alienated to actual settlers. Therein these grants differed from feudal grants in Old France, where alienation of the land was absolutely forbidden. Otherwise the forms and conditions of feudalism in the old world were more or less exactly transferred to Canada. Generally speaking, the vassal of the King or the company, the *seigneur*, was required to do homage at the castle of St. Louis on each mutation of possession, as well as to pay the *Seigneur Dominant* a piece of gold and the whole or part of one year's rental. The *seigneur's* vassal, the tenant or *censitaire*, was bound to do homage to the *seigneur* and to pay *cens et rentes* as rental, consisting of one or two sous per acre and half a bushel of oats. He was also obliged to grind his corn at the seigneur's mills, giving in payment generally one-fourteenth of the yield. The rental was so insignificant that it would not have repaid the *seigneur* the trouble and cost of recruiting the settlers, and of organizing and superintending the

government of the seignory, had he not possessed the further right of levying what were called *lods et ventes*, or one-twelfth the amount of every sale of property and real estate made by a *censitaire*, or tenant. When property passed at death to a direct heir no such tax was due. The *lods et ventes*, payable by the farmer or *censitaire* to the *seigneur* as a tax on every transfer of his holding, corresponded to the *quinze* or tax, which the *seigneur* was bound to pay to the *Seigneur Dominant* whenever there was a change of sovereign. The *lods et ventes* in time became an intolerable burden, and interfered so seriously with the transfer of property, that, by the edict of 1711, the *seigneurs* were obliged to commute for an equitable sum, when a *censitaire* desired to acquire a title to his land in free and common socage. This compulsory condition, under which the *seigneur* owned his land, made the actual abolition of the seignorial tenure under the law of 1854 legal and equitable. Conservative as was France under the old regime, and ignorant as its rulers often were of the real requirements of Canada, whether as a proprietary colony at the outset, or a crown colony afterwards, the seignorial customs were repeatedly altered by edict in order to meet the changing conditions of the country. They were never so modified, however, as to give the subject the right to own the land unconditionally or to alienate it absolutely from the crown, though the gradual tendency was towards greater liberty of tenure.

In the old concession made to the Sieur de la Roche he was authorized to grant lands in the form of Fiefs, Seignories, Châtellenies, Earldoms, Viscounties and Baronies. Thirty years elapsed between the date of this document and the chartering of the company of Canada. The feudal ideas of land tenure still formed an inseparable part of the social structure of France, but the growth of monarchical power had meanwhile so far modified the views of statesmen with regard to government, that no such powers were conferred on the Company of the One Hundred Associates as de la Roche had been invested with. On the contrary, the feudal system was stretched almost beyond recognition, when the vassal of the crown was not merely allowed, but compelled, to cut up the fiefs into small holdings for the purpose of

encouraging the creation of a semi-independent agricultural class. The Canadian feudal system of land tenure was, of course, repugnant to the English system of individual ownership, which under the influence of Protestantism, was becoming the dominant principle in the land policy of the Teutonic nations. It had, however, the effect of creating what the great Cardinal intended, namely, a distinctly French community with a nice gradation of dignities and interests, tending to bind together instead of dissociating the various elements of the social body. It did in fact perform this service so effectually that all the forces of disintegration which have since been at work have not availed to disturb the homogeneity of French Canada, or obliterate the institutions of Old France in America. The Cardinal's plans failed, however, of their immediate and principal purpose—the encouragement of immigration; even to-day the Frenchman is no more desirous of leaving his beautiful home in Normandy or Provence, to take up land in the wilderness, though offered gratuitously under the Teutonic allodial system, than he was two centuries and a half ago to accept it, under the feudal tenure, from a Canadian *seigneur*. The failure of the *seigneurs* or the company to settle New France as rapidly as the less attractive shores of New England or Virginia were being peopled, depended upon more deeply seated causes than the respective systems of land tenure in New England and New France.

Giffard did homage for his seignory on the last day of December, 1635, before Marc Antoine de Bras de Fer, Sieur de Châteaufort (Lieutenant Governor). He promised to follow the laws and ordinances concerning which he should be enjoined and notified, and to render fealty and homage for the land of Beauport, holding it expressly of the fort and castle of Quebec. Champlain had died a week before, or else he would have represented the King and the company in this act of fealty, which would have seemed to him a realization of his dreams of the extension to New France of the power and institutions of the parent state.

The *seigneur* of Beauport secured a building site in town and erected his city residence near the castle. Thus was inaugurated

the social life of Quebec, which during the French regime was a faint reflection of the bright side of French society, for in the town residence of many a seigneur who brought his family to the capital for the winter months, the gayety of a French salon was repeated. Until the approach of political decay, more than a century later, the influence of the clergy was sufficiently strong to repress any approach to the license which was an unfortunate feature of court and aristocratic life in Old France.

The effect of the seignorial system in fusing the people into a harmonious whole was very notable. Though originating in class distinctions, it completely obliterated class hostility. The Abbé Casgrain graphically describes the actual result of a seignorial concession under the old regime. "The whole colonization system of New France rested on two men," he says, "the priest and the seigneur, who walked side by side and extended mutual help to one another. The *censitaire*, who was at the same time the parishioner, had two rallying points, the church and the manor house. The interests of these were generally identical, inasmuch as the limits of the seignory were with few exceptions coterminous with those of the parish. Every fall, as Michaelmas approached, (11th November) the seigneur warned his *censitaires* at the church door after mass, that their *cens et rentes* were payable. As soon as the winter roads were good the manor house became the centre of as lively activity as the *presbytère* or parish house to-day when the inhabitants assemble to pay their tithes. Some arrived in carioles, some on sleighs, bringing with them a capon or two, oats by the bushel, or other products of their land. The old *redevance* amounted to only two livres per acre of frontage by forty-two acres in depth, and to one sou rental per year. The *censitaire* who owned four acres by forty-two in depth had paid for his farm only eight francs, and was liable for only an annual rental of four sous per front arpent."

In the old days land was seldom transferred, and the revenue, therefore, was much less than afterwards accrued, to certain seigneurs, from *lods et ventes*, when the population had become more migratory, and the shifting of values of real estate tempted the occupant to sell.

It was a frightfully cold winter, that of 1634-5. The river was frozen from shore to shore. The Indians died from famine in great numbers, and in the new Jesuit settlement of Three Rivers several deaths occurred from scurvy. The fleet of the following spring arrived late, owing to the heavy ice off the coast and in the Gulf. Captain Duplessis Bochard with a fleet of six ships did not reach Tadousac till early in July, and one belated ship, commanded by Captain Butemps, did not reach port till August. They brought out six priests, but how many immigrants the Jesuit chroniclers do not tell us. There were now in the colony fourteen priests and four brothers. The summer was uneventful. The Huron hunters came down with their furs in July, bringing letters from the Jesuit missionaries contradicting the reports of death and misfortune, which had reached their brethren in the East. All were well and reported a hearty welcome by the Indians of Lake Huron. This encouraged Champlain to repeat his exhortation to the dusky warriors to accept civilization and adopt Christianity, and fit their daughters to become the wives of his French followers. Could he have been so enthusiastic as to believe in the possible realization of such a scheme? At any rate it is pleasant to think that his hopes ran high at the very time when he was stricken down by paralysis. He lingered for two and half months and died on Christmas day, 1635. He was buried with all the honors the garrison, the church, and the people could confer on a man whom all loved and respected; for, into whatever errors of judgment he may have fallen, he never committed an intentional injustice or acted from low, selfish, or mercenary motives. His friend, Father Lalemant, performed the funeral service, and Father le Jeune delivered the funeral oration in the church he had himself built in honor of the Virgin; and they buried him in a *sepulcre particulier*, but where? Not a hint is given as to the place of his interment. Mr. O'Donnell, a city official of Quebec, disinterred from a stone vault under the Little Champlain street steps, in 1860, a coffin containing human bones which he argued were the remains of the illustrious founder of Quebec. But the church he founded, and which he wished to endow with

most of his worldly goods, was in the Upper Town, and under it or beneath its choir, and nowhere else, he must have wished to be laid to rest. The Church of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance, with its register, containing, it must be assumed, the record of his death and interment, was burned in 1640. Monsieur Laverdière believed that he had discovered and traced the remains of the foundation of the old church in the yard of the Presbytère in Buade street. These foundations, if they belonged to the old church, would indicate that it did not point east and west, for what Laverdière assumes to be the choir lay diagonally under part of the apse of the present basilica. That this was the orientation of Champlain's church is confirmed by the finding, as recorded by Abbé George Côté, when some repairs were being made in the vaults of the basilica in 1877, of a skeleton, whose skull instead of lying in the direction of the nave pointed towards the choir. As no record of any such interment exists in the archives of the cathedral, the remains are supposed to be those of some one buried under the choir of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance. If this supposition be correct, then the body of the illustrious founder of Quebec may also repose where it, above all others, has the right of sepulchre, beneath the choir of the cathedral, raised to the dignity of a basilica on the 200th anniversary of the foundation of the episcopate of Quebec.

Father Vimont, in the Relation of 1640, in describing the fire which swept away their home, says: "It reduced to ashes the chapel of Monsieur le Gouverneur and the parish church." This would imply that there were two ecclesiastical edifices, or that there was a chapel in the parish church which went by the name of the Governor's chapel, presumably because Champlain's remains reposed there. It is contrary to the known character of Governor Montmagny to imagine that he would ever so far depart from the simplicity and habits of his illustrious predecessor as to erect a chapel for his private devotions. The Jesuit fathers distinctly state that in his humility he always knelt with other parishioners to receive the sacrament. It may naturally have been supposed that it would act as a stimulus to devotion to consecrate, as the Governor's chapel, a spot almost sanctified by the remains of

Champlain. The *sepulcre particulier* of Champlain must have been a vault; for his friend, Father Raymboult, who died in 1642, was buried beside him. Nor was he the first who was thus honored. In 1641 the register records that on the 2d of May of that year, Mons. François Grand-mont, a prominent member of the Company and the original owner of Sillery, died in the room under the sacristy and chapel of Quebec. This chapel was in the second story of the company's house, which was temporarily occupied as a place of worship after the burning of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance. Here Monsieur Grand-mont had spent his winter and here he died. On the 21st, after the office of the dead and solemn mass had been sung, he was buried, so the register says, in the chapel of Monsieur de Champlain. It does not say in the actual vault. Thence we should infer that the vault in the Governor's chapel of the Church of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance had passed uninjured through the fire, and that over it had been built a chapel. This chapel is mentioned as a landmark in a deed by Governor D'Aillebout in February, 1649, when reserving an acre of land in the town of Quebec for public purposes, *contre la chapelle Champlain*. But in the maps of Quebec made in 1660 and 1664 (see Faillon, *Histoire de la Colonie Française*, vol. 3, page 373), this chapel does not appear. It had probably been absorbed by the large parish church, the predecessor of the cathedral, and of the present basilica, which appears on the map as a notable feature of the town. Within its foundation walls, therefore, may yet be found that *sepulcre particulier*, with its precious contents. It is a grateful thought that the first governor of New France rests near Frontenac, Callières, Vaudreuil and Longueuil in this pantheon of French heroes.* Only a tablet records the fact that these remains rest there in peace. A monument should be erected worthy of his fame and achievements; and there is little doubt that this could easily be done by means of contributions gratefully subscribed by men of both nationalities and every creed in Canada and the United States.

Champlain left a will by which he bequeathed to the church he had founded in Quebec all his personal effects in Canada. 300

* See a full discussion of the subject by Dr. Dionne in his chapter on "The Tomb of Champlain," *Etudes Historiques*.

livres in the stock of the original company of One Hundred Associates, 900 livres in the auxiliary company's stock, and 400 livres in cash. But when he married H  l  ne Boull   there was a marriage contract by which husband and wife mutually bequeathed each to the other whatever they might die possessed of. His wife consented to the will, but his cousin opposed it, on the ground that it contradicted the marriage contract. The will was set aside, the judge allowing to the Chapelle de Notre Dame only the proceeds of the sale of Champlain's personal effects, some 900 livres, which were expended in vessels for the altar. His widow survived him nineteen years, dying in a nunnery of her own founding. Like most converts—for it must be remembered that she was a Huguenot in her early life—she was so extreme in her devotion to her adopted faith that, even during her husband's life, she is said to have decided to enter a convent and take the veil. The laws of the church denied her that gratification unless her husband would also renounce his marriage vows and adopt a religious life. This the old sailor and busy man of the world declined to do, looking on his work as more valuable to his country and more pleasing to God than would have been the donning of a clerical or monastic habit.

He lives in history as a brave, single-hearted sailor and explorer, who had a clear conception of duty and followed his convictions without swerving or wavering. Few men are honest enough to tell the story of their life as simply as he did, without exaggeration, or self-laudation, or insincere self-derogation, or cant. He was not a great soldier or a great statesman. Had he been the first, he would have pursued with more determination and method his policy of subduing the native tribes opposed to him; and had he been the second, he would probably have succeeded by diplomacy in creating a strong confederacy out of those with which he was on friendly terms. Nevertheless, if not in the highest sense a great man, he was endowed with a courage and straightforwardness of purpose that were proof against a thousand disappointments and broken promises. These virtues buoyed him up till, after seventeen years of hope deferred yet of faith unshaken, he saw Quebec growing from a post into a town, and Canada assuming the character of a colony.

CHAPTER XI.

The Arrival of Governor Montmagny, and the Establishment of the Ursuline and Hospital Nuns at Quebec.

The company had provided for the contingency of Champlain's death by depositing with Father le Jeune a commission in favor of Mare Antoine Bras de Fer de Chasteaufort, of Three Rivers, as his temporary successor. The document was read after the funeral service. The colonists acquiesced. The Governor was prostrate from paralysis when the fall fleet sailed, but the news of his death having actually occurred must have been sent to France through some port on the Atlantic seaboard; otherwise Charles Hault de Montmagny would not have been nominated to the governorship, and his appointment confirmed by the Cardinal on the 10th of March. With such expedition was a fleet equipped to escort the new official to the seat of his government, that he arrived before Quebec on the evening of the 11th of June, to the intense relief of the townsfolk. They knew that France had embarked in a great war (The Thirty Years' War), in alliance with the Swedes, the Germans and the Dutch against Spain, and they dreaded that Spain, exasperated by the aid given to the Protestant cause by Catholic France, might attempt to wreak on the still feeble colony the same awful vengeance which she had inflicted by the hand of Menendez upon Ribault's colony in Florida. But even if such a fate were spared them, they feared that the mother country, in the throes of a great war, would need all her resources to meet the attack of Spain, and might neglect them as she had done before Kirke's invasion. Great therefore was the joy of the whole community when they recognized in the new Governor a soldier of some renown, and a knight of the order of St. John of Malta. To the priests the appointment of a celibate, with no wife to tempt him to change the austere routine of the castle life into a round of courtly gayeties, must have given promise of another

regime of strict and edifying fulfilment of all religious duties and observances.

The profound piety of the new Governor was demonstrated by his stopping a procession on its way to the inaugural service in the Church of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance, and falling on his knees before a cross which met his view. In the same spirit, immediately after the *Te Deum* had been sung and the keys of the Château and Fort delivered to him by Monsieur de Chasteaufort, he stood sponsor at the baptismal font for an Indian child.

In July of this year (1636) there was a large gathering at Quebec of Montagnais Indians from Tadousac, when the Governor had his first lesson in diplomacy from these wily savages. Their chief desire was, as usual, to induce the French to become their allies against the Iroquois, and their orators could always adduce cogent arguments that appealed to the self-interest and pride of the French. On the other hand, the French had other than motives of gain in urging the red men to forbear trading either with the Dutch on the Hudson or with the English poachers in the Gulf. Three arquebuses were found in the camp of a Montagnais band at Three Rivers. The Governor, indeed, was soon to learn that the bravest race of Indians on the continent were already in possession of firearms, and that thus the superiority which the few white men enjoyed in virtue of their weapons was in danger of disappearing. After this council the new Governor ascended the river to Three Rivers, which had now supplanted Quebec as a trading post, just as Montreal in time replaced Three Rivers, the danger from the Iroquois making it increasingly desirable to shift the market as near as possible to the source of supply.

Ere he left Three Rivers Montmagny was called upon to bring his military skill into exercise against this formidable foe, a very different one from any he had ever faced. The Iroquois, to the number of five hundred, had descended the Richelieu, and, intercepting a fleet of Hurons, had captured two of the most noted Huron chiefs, several youths destined for the Huron seminary at Quebec, and other less important members of the tribe. Besides seizing the traders they secured rich booty in their stock of furs. The Governor with-

drew the French, the friendly Montagnais and Algonquins, and the Hurons who had escaped, into the fort of Three Rivers, which consisted of a mere breastwork, and there prepared for an attack. To each of the six priests he assigned a special duty. Messengers were sent to Quebec for help, and aid was at once sent him. The fleet was in Quebec, and their crews were glad to be enlisted in such an exciting enterprise. The ship's boats from Mons. de l'Isle's ship, manned by a number of his crew, were the first to arrive at Three Rivers, and a schooner followed, commanded by Captain Raymbaut. Nor were the prominent citizens of Quebec backward in responding to the call. Sieurs Couillard and Giffard and other notables hurried to the front. But before they arrived the Governor had armed the two ships' boats, one commanded by the Sieur Desdames and the other by Captain Fournier, and, under their protection, proceeded in his own row-boat to attack the fleet of canoes and drive the Iroquois out of Lake St. Peter, so as to reopen the river to the Huron traders. Aware of his design and preparations the foe had disappeared, leaving at the mouth of the Richelieu traces of their barbarous cruelty, but carrying off most of their prisoners, together with the furs, which they meant to barter with the Dutch at Fort Nassau. The volunteers must have returned to Quebec with gloomy forebodings, for the success of the Iroquois in an attack made under the very guns of the fort, and before the eyes of the Governor himself, was sure to embolden them to undertake still more venturesome enterprises. They were being supplied with guns and ammunition by the Dutch in exchange for their furs. The very booty they had just carried off across Lake Champlain into the valley of the Hudson meant many guns and hundreds of rounds of ammunition, which, if directed against the 200 inhabitants of Quebec before the fleet arrived or after its departure, might involve the destruction of the colony. Montmagny, immediately on assuming the government, had strengthened the river fort at Quebec by a redoubt facing the river, and mounted additional cannons on it. The Indians, while powerless to enter the fort, could yet seriously harass the inhabitants and destroy all outlying settlements. There were, in fact, grounds for the keen-

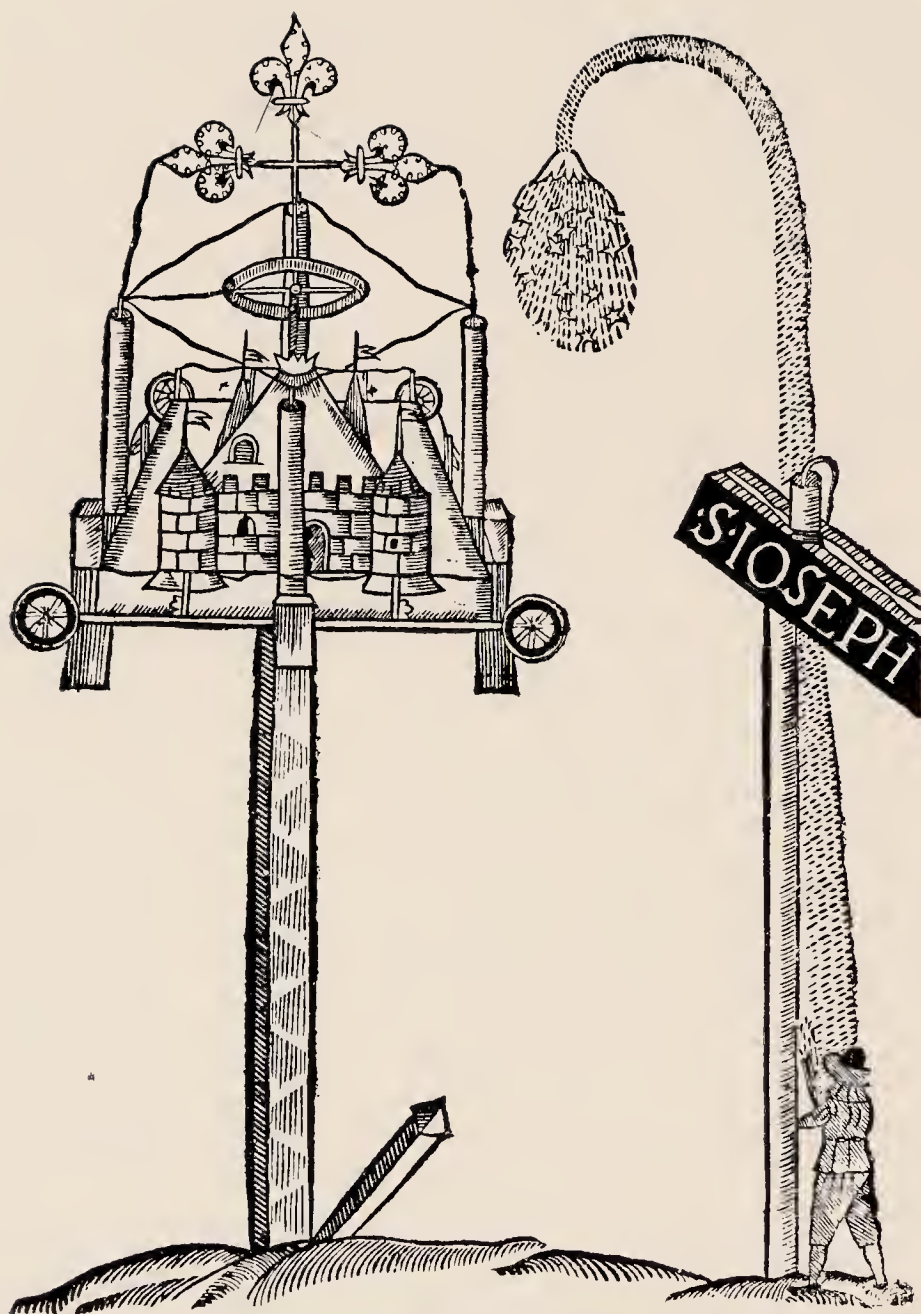
est apprehension, as subsequent events fully proved. The bold attack on the Huron fleet was the beginning of an Indian war which lasted, with occasional lulls, for more than a century.

The Governor waited at Three Rivers till the end of August, hoping that the Indians would regain courage and appear; but as the fleet for France was about to sail, he and Father le Jeune were obliged to descend to Quebec. They had hardly landed when news of the arrival of 150 Hurons at Three Rivers was received. Montmagny sent his lieutenant, the Chevalier de l'Isle, to meet them, and Mons. le Jeune accompanied him. It was necessary to show more than customary courtesy and consideration to the savages, for an epidemic, which they attributed to the machinations of the French, and especially to the incantations of the missionaries, had broken out on the Georgian Bay and was ravaging the tribe. The fleet therefore sailed away with lighter cargoes than usual, and with a budget of bad news. This was certainly, for the Governor, a discouraging introduction to his duties; but to cheer him there returned Fathers Daniel and Davost, with the Huron traders, who brought back glowing accounts of their missionary success, and a description of the beautiful Georgian Bay, and of the lakes and rivers and the illimitable country that lay between the St. Lawrence and Lake Huron. They moreover told what they had heard of the still vaster waters and wider lands that lay beyond to the west. But these almost fabulous stories do not seem to have excited the Governor's imagination, which might well have glowed at the thought of the greatness awaiting the parent State through the expansion of her colonial empire—an empire that would be hers without challenge, as neither the colonists in Virginia, nor the sedate Puritans of New England, nor the sluggish Dutch of New Netherland, had ventured far enough away from their homes on the sea coast to get a glimpse of the vast interior of the Continent.

The winter was probably the season in which the religious enthusiasm and social purity mentioned in the letters transmitted to France, as characterizing society in Quebec, was seen to most advantage. The priests could, during that season, watch

each of their parishioners and restrain their foibles and their faults; but when summer arrived, and with it came the fleet full of reckless sailors, a contagion of vice spread; the whole community then suffered a lowering of its religious temperature, and fell away very sensibly from its high moral standard. The ships occasionally also, despite the prohibition against the importation of heresy, landed and left in the colony emigrants tainted with what Father le Jeune called "the alleged religion," but these stray sheep were unable to withstand the arguments of the priests and the pressure of public opinion. In short, no one remained long in the colony who questioned the authority of the Church.

There was even greater and more perfect religious unanimity than in the Puritan colonies of New England, though in both communities religion was the foundation of the State. The directors of the company of New France laid it down as an absolute rule that "to build up the body of a healthy colony religion is essential, being to the State what the heart is to the human body—its most vital organ." But the religious spirit of the French colony was less gloomy than that of the Puritan commonwealth, and its form of worship less severe. Music and color and the dramatically effective details of vestment and posture in the altar service, the result of the aesthetic expression of the religious feeling of the most artistic peoples of southern Europe, were well calculated to retain a firm hold on the French colonists to whom they were traditionally sacred, and to appeal to the senses of the Indians, educated in sign language and picture writing. Both communities were pledged to a religious life and missionary propagandism among the aborigines; but, looking back over nearly three centuries, we cannot fail to recognize that primitive Roman Catholicism has retained its influence over the French of Lower Canada more effectually than Puritanism, in its primitive form, has maintained its hold on the people of New England. It must be added that Roman Catholicism, with its florid, picturesque ritual and less abstract creed, has also been more comprehensible to the Indians than the metaphysical dogmas of Calvinism. The Jesuit Fathers clearly understood this, and the festival of St. Joseph, who is re-



Cette figure se met en la page 19. de la Relation de Canadas.

cognized as the patron saint of Canada, was celebrated by a great display of fireworks, the Governor himself lighting the set piece and explaining to the Indians, through an interpreter, that the French were more powerful than even the demons, for they could call forth fire at will, and use it when they listed to burn the bodies of their enemies. Thus too the feast of Mary, patroness of the church of Quebec, was inaugurated by hoisting the royal ensign on the bastion of the fort amidst a salvo of artillery and the rattle of musketry, and raising a maypole before the church, surmounted by three crowns, emblems of Jesus, Mary and Joseph. By such means religion and the civil power came to be indissolubly associated in the minds of the Indians.*

The Governor actively aided the Fathers in their endeavors to teach the natives. In the middle of December, after the Montagnais had started on their winter's hunt, there remained a band of Algonquins camped near the fort. The Governor gave them a feast, and while their mouths and their hearts were full, he extracted a promise from them to visit betimes the mission house of Notre Dame des Anges. Thus commenced a series of conferences, wherein discussions were by no means one-sided, for the Fathers, trained though they were in dialectics, found it difficult sometimes to deal with the arguments of their savage opponents. The Indians insisted on reasons being given for the fact that since the advent of the white men, who pretended to offer nothing but blessings to them, the mortality of the tribe had so dangerously increased as to threaten it with extinction. The priest attributed

* Rev. John Miller, in his *New York Considered and Improved*, 1695, charges the French with debauching "so many of our Indians as they have made Christians & obliged by so doing some of our Mohawks so much yt one of them, as I have heard, having run away from us to them & thereupon being upbraided with his infidelity in forsaking his old friends, in his own defence made answer that he had lived long among the English, but they had never all that while had so much love for him as to instruct him in the concerns of his soul & show him the way to salvation, which the French had done upon their first Acquaintance with him, & therefore he was obliged to love & be faithfull to them, & ingage as many of his nation as he could to go along with him & to partake of the same knowledge & instructions that were afforded & imparted to him, so that it appears to be a worke not only of great charity but of almost absolute necessity to endeavor the conversion of the five Nations and other Indians, lest they be wholly debauched by ye French & become by God's just permission for our neglect therein. of faithfull & true friends as they have been hitherto, most dangerous & cruell Enemys." *Debauching* must here be understood in its political sense—as withdrawing from an alliance.

it to alcohol, but alcohol did not explain the inroads of small-pox. Furthermore, the Indians were all aware that it was believed among the whites that, as they entered, the aborigines would disappear. Yet every endeavor was being made to increase white immigration, and they could not reconcile that with the benevolent intentions of the Black Robes. It also puzzled the Indians to understand wherein resided the benefits of baptism, inasmuch as nearly all those whom the priests had baptized, whether young or old, had died. This was a fact, inasmuch as, almost without exception, those to whom the sacrament had been administered were either children about to die, or the aged who had submitted to it when death was near. Another difficulty was to reconcile the ardent wish expressed by the good Fathers, that they should abandon their roving life, with the interest the same good Fathers professed to take in them as a nation, for they could not conceive of life, individual or national, apart from the excitement and profits of the chase. Demonology, which was a favorite theme with them, also presented perplexities. Why, if God were willing to forgive, should devils be excluded from his mercy? The good Fathers replied that salvation was extended only to those who could hope, whereas despair was the penalty of hell. This seemed hardly conclusive, and the mystery of evil continued to puzzle them as it has puzzled men in all ages.

But Christianity as presented in the lives of the priests, and later in the glorious devotion to charitable work of the Ursuline and Grey Nuns, won more converts than the terrors of hell, notwithstanding that these were presented in all their realistic horrors. The religious leaders of the colony soon reached the conclusion that there was less to be gained by arguing with the old than by instructing the young. These stern but tender-hearted priests looked after the children in the absence of the hunters, and, gathering the boys and girls around them in the long winter months, taught them to sing and pray, and filled their young minds with the story of the Master's love and his tenderness for little ones. The second generation of the Montagnais and Algonquins, as well as of the Hurons, who had come under the teaching of the Church, though they may not

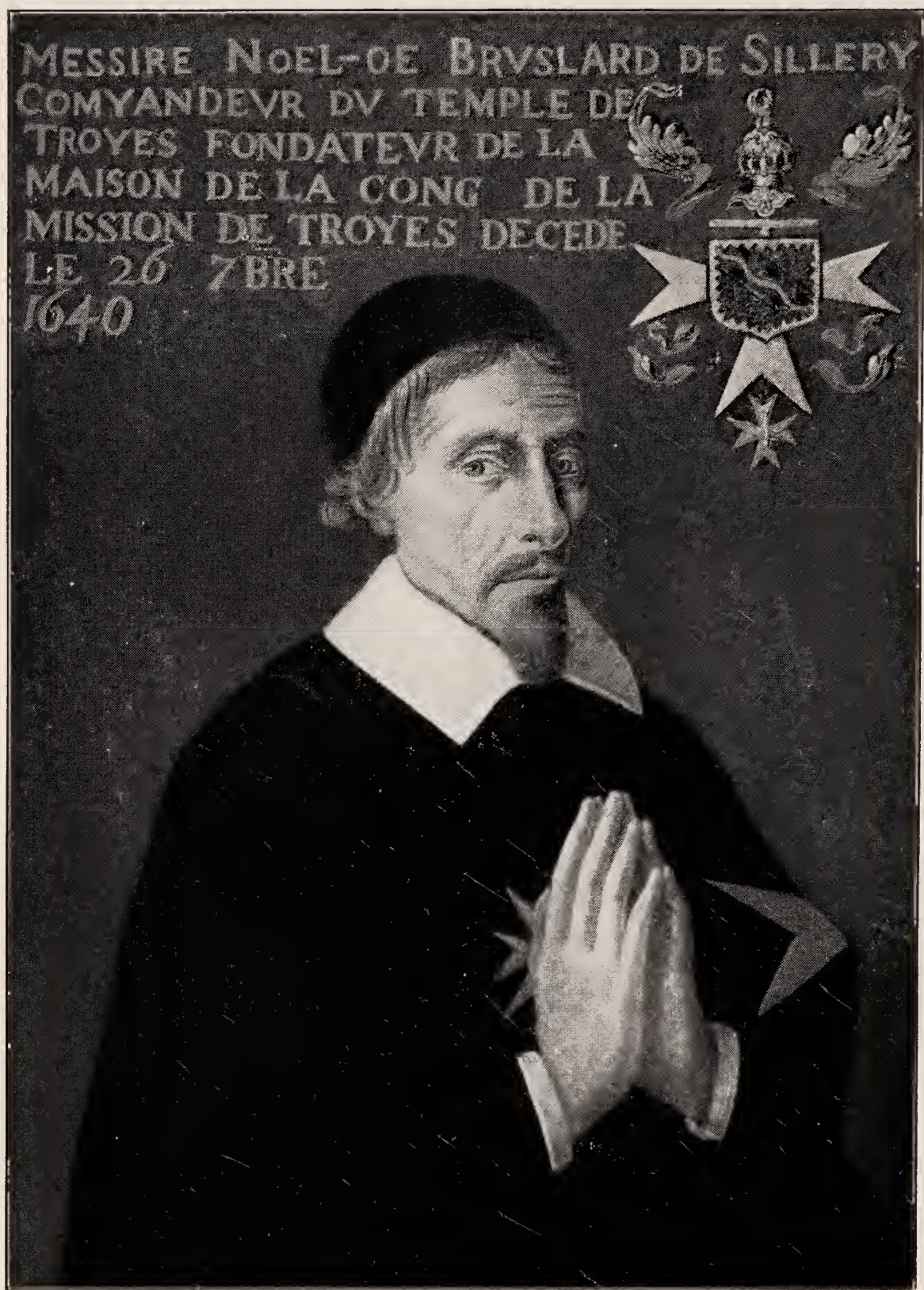
have been specimens of the purest products of Christianity, were raised far above the abject savagery of their parents.

While the missionaries by their devotion and tact were winning converts among the Indians, and by their watchfulness insuring the morals of the colonists, the story of their hardships and missionary successes, told in such luminous detail in the *Relations*, and published year by year in France, was kindling ardent enthusiasm among the pious laity at home. As we critically read the *Relations* even to-day, we cannot avoid sharing in the enthusiasm they evoked, and forgiving the lapses from accuracy which gave them the glamour of romance. For example, Father le Jeune employed his literary skill in drawing dreary pictures of the forlorn post as it appeared in 1632, and most attractive ones of the thriving town into which it had grown within four years, though it had gathered in the interval only about 150 inhabitants. But the good Father certainly allows his ardor to master his sense of truth when he states that on their arrival they found only one inhabitant engaged in farming, and that one eager to flee away in order to enjoy the offices of the True Faith in Old France. While it is impossible to doubt that the zeal of Father le Jeune and his colleagues was sincere, the *Relations* were manifestly written with the triple object of magnifying the missionary work of the Society of Jesus, soliciting subscriptions for their great schemes, and glorifying the colonization efforts and the religious motives of the company of One Hundred Associates and its officers. None the less, the advice given by Father le Jeune to intending immigrants is sound, and might with advantage be embodied in the emigration literature put into circulation to-day.

The almost monastic regimen imposed on the colonists was occasionally relieved by glimpses of the pageantry of war. The Governor and his lieutenant were soldiers and loved martial display. Sentries were posted at the castle, and, on every ordinary and extraordinary occasion, there was a review of the handful of troops and a discharge of firearms. But, better still, MM. de Repentigny and de la Potherie had just arrived with six unmarried daughters, "beautiful as the day," to quote the enthusiastic figure of speech elicited even from the Jesuits by their appari-

tion. Order generally prevailed; yet were there unruly spirits who regarded the mildest laws as shackles. It was not the day of legislative assemblies, however; and the Governor and the priests, who made the laws, enforced them rigidly against all backsliders, recalcitrants and other offenders. On the 29th of December, a pillory was erected before the church, and on it was posted a list of crimes, including blasphemy, drunkenness, absence from mass on feast days, all punishable by exposure in the stocks. It was the season of hilarity, but that was not admitted as an excuse by the ecclesiastical censors. The pillory had been erected only a week when a public example was made of a drunkard, whose crime had been aggravated by improper language. On January 22nd a fine of 50 livres was imposed on a reckless fellow who had made an Indian drunk. The French accused the English under Kirke of being the first to demoralize the Indians by giving them a taste for intoxicating liquor. If the Huguenot Company was as sordid and as regardless of all moral obligations as they are represented to have been, it is much to be wondered at that they did not use ardent spirits in trading with the redskins before Kirke's occupancy. Whoever was guilty, the Roman Catholic Church of Canada has from the first offered a magnificent and consistent opposition to the sale of intoxicating liquors to the native Indians. More was done in this matter by moral suasion than by law. Father Lalemant and Father du Quen took up their residence in town, near the chapel of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance, and were therefore able to perform early and late mass, matins and vespers, as well as to chatechise the children. These duties they attended to with so much zeal and success that the chapel had to be enlarged into a church before it was more than a year old.

In addition to the fifteen Jesuit Fathers and four Brothers, there had arrived two secular priests, who had been drawn to the colony by family and friendly relations. Father Gilles Nicolet had crossed the ocean to join his brother Jean, the famous Indian interpreter and explorer. Father Nicolet devoted himself to the spiritual needs of the *habitants* on Giffard's seignory of Beauport, and also of those who were sprinkled along the river as



MESSIRE NOEL-DE BRVSLARD DE SILLERY
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MAISON DE LA CONG DE LA
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1640

Portrait of Sieur de Sillery.

far as Cap Tourmente. The other priest was Mons. Lesueur, who had come out from St. Sauveur in Normandy, of which place he was curé, to join his friend Jean Bourdon, whom we have met as the pyrotechnist who made the fireworks which the Governor himself set off on the feast of St. Joseph. He was the handy man of the colony, able to build a house, shoe a horse, fire a cannon, sail a ship and make a chart. He certainly was a useful citizen, and was rewarded by the grant in 1637 of fifty arpents of timber land, covering part of the present St. John and St. Louis suburbs and of the Plains of Abraham.

When the fleet had sailed, and the people been reduced to domestic subjects of interest, public attention must have been concentrated on the Jesuit college. The company had deeded to the Society in March twelve arpents of land not far from the fort, and as a gentleman of Picardy, Mons. René Rohault, had bequeathed to the society his whole patrimony, and as his father, the Marquis de Gamache, had forestalled their enjoyment of this inheritance by a gift of sixteen thousand écus, the society was warranted in making its plans on an extensive scale and erecting a substantial building. Nothing is more expressive of the unflinching faith of the Church in its growth and permanency than the size and strength of its buildings, which are usually designed for a population of thrice the existing number. The Jesuit college was an illustration of this, for it was laid out on a scale which nothing, either in the actual condition or immediate prospects of the colony, seemed to justify.

The only other important structure under erection near Quebec this autumn was also due to Jesuit enterprise. Father le Jeune's letter had reiterated his belief that the acceptance of Christianity by the natives would be accomplished only by inducing them to abandon their roving habits and engage in sedentary occupation. The Chevalier, Noël Brulard de Sillery, a Knight of Malta, was moved by the eloquent appeals and arguments of the *Relations* to found a mission, where Indians would be induced to settle and learn farming and other useful handicrafts. The Father selected as a site a deep indentation in the rocky barrier which confines the north shore of the river about a league above the *habita-*

tion. There a small meadow could be cleared for cultivation under the protection of a fort on the overhanging cliffs. The site, as it happened, had already been selected for his own use by Mons. François de Ré, more commonly known as Mons. Gand, a large shareholder in the company, who himself resided in Canada. He, however, relinquished his rights without hesitation in favor of the earnest philanthropist; and the Jesuits at once commenced erecting the mission of St. Joseph, which ere long came to be known by the name of the benefactor, as the Mission of Sillery. He, though averse to notoriety, was unable to hide his good deed. In the spring of 1638, the mission house was opened and twenty Indians at once camped around it. Thus commenced a native settlement which was to be hallowed by many an act of devotion and deed of suffering, till abandoned from dread of the Iroquois in 1651. A stone building still stands on the beach supposed to be the original mission house. In all its architectural features it is a type of the country house still erected by the French habitant. Sillery is therefore deeply interesting as the site of the first attempt made with the set purpose of weaning the Indian from his roving life, and teaching him habits of steady work and patient industry. In those early days the white society of Quebec undoubtedly approached nearer to a Christian standard than most of our frontier towns do to-day; nevertheless the Indian settlements, so earnestly made and so sedulously watched over by the Jesuit fathers, exercised almost no attraction on the tribes at large. From that point of view they must be pronounced failures; and in other respects they must sorely have tried the patience of the French.

Of the power of habit and the hopelessness of changing suddenly the whole current of an Indian's family and tribal life, bound as he was to it by the most sacred traditions as well as by self-interest, the Fathers had painful experience in their Huron College of Notre Dame des Anges. The new pupils soon commenced to fret under the restraints imposed on them, and the discontent extended even to the old scholars. The only relief was in escape, and this the Indian boys contrived with such ingenuity that all but two had paddled away, with ample provisions, before



Jesuit Mission House at Sillery, now used as an office building.

their design was even suspected. The college was therefore reduced to two scholars, but these were so thoroughly reliable that they were entrusted by the Governor with a delicate mission. All winter long the little town had been harassed by anxiety as to the safety of their countrymen, lay and clerical, resident among the Hurons. The tribes in the neighborhood were restless. They were known to be greatly exercised over the epidemic of small-pox and other ailments, attributed by them to the machinations of the French. They were also irritated at the refusal of the French, who professed to be their allies, to follow and punish the Iroquois. It was feared, therefore, that they might, during the winter, if the disease continued virulent, attack in numbers and massacre the scanty white population. The Governor was desirous to assure the Indians that such an attempt would fail, but that, if made by any reckless bands, the crime would be more or less condoned, and the whole nation would not be made to suffer. The hostility of the Hurons meant the absolute failure of the commercial company. They were its best customers, and should their defection be followed by an alliance with their kindred, the Iroquois confederacy, the very existence of the colony might be imperilled. To pacify them the two Huron scholars were sent as ambassadors, for to have despatched one or more Frenchmen alone, on such a mission, might simply have aggravated the peril. To strengthen the mission, a French trader, one of their reverend instructors, and some Algonquins as guides accompanied the boys. After many an adventure and thirty-six days' incessant voyaging between Montreal and the Georgian Bay, they reached the Huron bourgade to find all well.

To secure and cement the attachment of the Montagnais and Algonquins in the neighborhood of Quebec, they were always invited to take part in public ceremonies, and even in religious functions, where their paint and feathers made an effective contrast with the sombre robes of the priests. "On the feast of the glorious Assumption of the Virgin the occupants of four of the Indian lodges, who were seeking Christian instruction, assembled at the mission to assist in

the procession, which was organized in honor of that glorious princess, the protector of New as well as of Old France. His excellency, the Governor, omitted no accessory which could add to the magnificence of the procession. It was a glorious sight to see a band of savages march two by two in perfect order, clad in their gaudy costumes, and following the French. The cortege moved between files of soldiery. The rattle of musketry and the roar of cannon fired from the ships and the battery, excited in every bosom the keenest joy, profound devotion and ardent thankfulness to that God who was thus bringing to fruition the designs of our great king, in the salvation of this benighted people. To add to our rejoicing their Indian jugglers (medicine men) brought five of their drums which they had used in their heathen incantations, and protested, by depositing them with us, that they thus abandoned the worship of Belial and would henceforth serve only Jesus Christ." The sincere devotion expressed in these ceremonies by the head of the colony, the clergy, and the people need not be doubted because of a tincture of exaggeration which colors the description of it in the *Relations*. This profound religious fervor not only influenced deeply the people of the early colony, but made so indelible an impression on the French-Canadian character that nearly three centuries of subsequent history, including a century and a half of contact with an alien race of a differing creed, have but slightly diminished its force.

The influence of Father le Jeune's *Relations* was demonstrated in 1639 by most palpable results. They had the effect of endowing Canada with two of the most beneficial organizations of the church. There may be a difference of opinion as to the reflex influence on mankind of prayers and of "perpetual adoration" by cloistered recluses, male or female. But no man can withhold his admiration from the religious devotion and self-abnegation expressed in gratuitously tending the sick and educating the ignorant; nor should this admiration be denied to devotees, who, by taking the vows, and assuming the habit, of a religious order, bind themselves yet more effectually to forego the pleasures and ordinary occupations of the world, and to live ex-

clusively and perpetually for others. We may doubt whether nurses or teachers are best fitted for their special vocation by excluding themselves from the routine of social life, shutting themselves off from general intercourse with their kind, renouncing independence of character, and repressing the natural growth of their faculties. But, in the case of teaching orders, their example, the rigid discipline they observe and enforce, and the uniformity of the system they follow, unquestionably impress on their pupils a unity of type which tends to create and perpetuate national distinctiveness. It is unquestionable that Canada owes the retention of her idiosyncrasies and her remarkable homogeneity, as much to the clerical education of her boys and girls, as to the patriotic teaching of her secular clergy.

The distressing stories of famine, as well as all that had been told of the superstitious ignorance among the Indians had touched many a heart in France, but none responded more ardently and practically to the appeals of the *Relations* than two women of family: Marie de Vignerod (Madame de Comballet, Duchess d'Aiguillon, the niece of the great Cardinal), and Madame de la Peltrie. The Duchess, like other religious women of the age, not only looked on the monastic life as the consummation of perfect piety, but had gone further and actually assumed, as a novice, the garb of the Carmelites. Her uncle is supposed to have disapproved of the step, and it is assumed that she yielded to his controlling will and returned to the world. But whether that be so or not, she continued to be animated by fervent zeal, and is said to have sought advice from her special director, Saint Vincent de Paul, as to the best method of carrying her convictions into practice. As Madame de Comballet, she had corresponded with Father le Jeune in 1636 on the subject of a hospital in Quebec. The enterprise took shape the following year under her auspices and at her charge, for she gave 22,400 livres as an endowment. The temporary building had already been erected under the supervision of the Jesuit Fathers on the twelve acres granted her by the company, when, in the spring of 1639, the duty of filling this dangerous mission, as hospital nurses, was assumed by the *Hospitalières* of the Mercy of Jesus, a com-

munity of Augustinian Hospital Nuns whose foundation dates back to the twelfth century. Three delicate women were found willing to sacrifice themselves. Mère de Saint Ignace, the Mother Superior, was only twenty-nine years old, and was a sufferer herself from ill health, but a woman of indomitable courage and energy. Her companions were Mère de Saint Bernard, a quiet, contemplative woman, and Mère de Saint Bonaventure, a gentle creature who had assumed the habit of a nun at eighteen years of age, and had never left her cloister. If meekness, tenderness and charity are the most potent agents for influencing suffering and dying men, whether savage or civilized, these three women, whose only sense of strength came from reliance on Divine aid, were well equipped for their noble mission.

But if the need of hospital accommodation and good nursing was being keenly felt, hardly less urgent was the need of some provision for female education, and this also the devout women of France were prepared to furnish without drawing on the company in the colony or in France. When Saint Angèle at Bresse, in 1537, was first moved to erect an order of women whose vocation should be to relieve distress and teach the ignorant, she conceived that this object could be best accomplished by the members living singly in private houses. Ere long, however, the tendency towards association became irresistible, and her first followers formed themselves into communities of cloistered nuns, allied to the order of St. Augustine, under rules which did not enforce absolute seclusion, yet which permitted the fulfillment of their founder's charitable objects. They adopted the name, and were inspired by the example, of the martyr virgin, St. Ursula. It was not till the beginning of the seventeenth century that, under the instigation of Madame de St. Beuve, the order opened its convent doors to boarders seeking education, and adopted the rules by which it is still governed. The order was therefore in the first ardor of its re-creation when Madame de la Peltrie was inspired by Father le Jeune's glowing accounts of the spiritual receptivity of the Indians to devote her life to the education of their girls. It was by a Providential and strange coincidence that she was brought into intercourse, through Father Coudran,

General of the order, with that holy man whom all Christians have agreed to canonize, St. Vincent de Paul, and with another woman, fired by as ardent zeal as herself, though of a less explosive temperament, Mère Marie de l'Incarnation. Both women had mixed in good society, both had been married, and both, under the fervor of devotion, had not only relinquished the world, but had, in so doing, broken the natural ties and obligations of family and social life. Madame Madeleine de Chauvigny, as the daughter of the Seigneur of Vaubougon, near Alençon, in Normandy, had married early in life Mons. de la Peltrie, and had been left a widow while still in the bloom of youth, with the additional attraction of a large fortune. She had suitors many, who were pressed upon her by her father. To rid herself of their attention and the importunity of her family, she married a Mons. de Bernières, a man of position, treasurer of France at Caen. It is stated that both parties to the contract agreed that the marriage should be merely formal, and terminate with the ceremony. Mons. de Bernières was as zealously religious as his wife, and after they had parted forever, he, as a business man, administered the affairs in France of the Ursuline Convent in Canada, over which his wife was the secular head. Had they so willed, they might both have taken the vows and assumed a religious habit; but he thought, no doubt correctly, that he could further his wife's plans, and administer her estate more effectually, as a layman than as a monk. She being a woman of unusual energy, felt that she was a fitting counterpart of her mystical friend, the saintly Marie de l'Incarnation, and could best attain the object they both had in view by remaining in the world, while not of it.

Marie Guyart had also tasted the bitterness of sorrow and enjoyed the exhilaration of romance. She had married early, but, after two years of happiness, as Madame Martin, was left a widow with an only child. For twelve years she devoted herself to the care and education of her boy. Then the call to forsake all, even her offspring, became overpowering and she yielded. She entered the Ursuline Convent at Tours, and henceforward exemplified that mysterious state of self-abnegation and absorption in a dominant idea or passion, which St. Paul expresses in the

verse: "Henceforth I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." In visions she believed herself divinely called to live and die in Canada; and when, years afterwards, Madame de la Peltrie came to Tours to seek the advice of Father Ponat as to the manner in which she could best fulfill her missionary purpose, Marie de l'Incarnation at once recognized in her the companion with whom she had, in her dreams, trodden the longed-for wilderness of that repellent and yet attractive savage land. On the other hand, Madame de la Peltrie saw in the devout, contemplative, but yet courageous nun the very woman who would face danger without flinching, and wrench success from failure and disappointment, as the superior of her convent in the New World. All the nuns of Tours were eager to enlist for this missionary enterprise, but one only was chosen, Marie de la Troche de St. Bernard, who was selected, not because she was the most robust, but by reason of her gentle, winning ways and devout enthusiasm. Before sailing from Dieppe, Mother Cecile Richer de la Croix was permitted to join this little band of the first female missionaries who ever sailed away from a Christian land with no other motive than to carry the gospel and exemplify the Master's teaching to the heathen.

Looking back on it, the age seems to us one full of contradiction. Vice abounded, but grace did certainly in some places much more abound; yet they were in such close fellowship that it is extremely difficult to dissociate them. So obscured was the virtue of religious zeal by the reprehensible methods of attaining holy ends, that one wonders how any moral standard could be maintained. Madame de la Peltrie's fictitious marriage to deceive her father is cited as an act of piety, and Madame Martin's neglect of her son in the ardent desire to assume the habit of a nun is accounted worthy of all imitation. Religious eccentricity has not been confined to one age, or to the advocates of any one creed; but it certainly assumes some of its most extreme phases in periods of vivid religious revival, when fervid devotion, which may at any time become morbid under the stimulus of imagination, arrays itself for spiritual conflict.

On the 4th of May, 1639, the good ship "St. Joseph" was ready



Mme. de la Peltre (Marie Madeleine de Chauvigny).

to put to sea from the port of Dieppe, and on it embarked as earnest a group of Christians as those who had sailed from Plymouth in the Mayflower, nineteen years before. The energetic Madame de la Peltrie, three nursing nuns from the hospital at Dieppe, three teaching nuns of the Order of St. Ursule, and the three Jesuit Fathers, Vimont, Poncet and Chaumont, looked at life and their duties as Christians from a point of view so diametrically opposite to that of the Pilgrims, that it is difficult to conceive how two groups of intelligent men and women could possibly put such contrary interpretations on the teachings of the same Master. Both recognized his authority as absolute, both accepted his words as the law of their lives, and yet how widely divergent were the paths which they followed!

It was midsummer before the ship arrived at Tadousac, where they transhipped to a schooner, and so went on to Quebec. Unable to reach the port before nightfall, they camped on the Island of Orleans, whence news of their coming preceded them. The Governor, his suite, all the inhabitants, and a group of Indians were at the *Cul de Sac* to bid them welcome, and we can well believe that, in the ecstasy of their emotions, the nuns fell on their knees and kissed the very ground of their adopted country. To climb the hill and return thanks in the little chapel of *Notre Dame de la Recouvrance* was their first duty. The rest of the day may have been spent in treading the forest paths and visiting the building which the Jesuits were putting up for the *Hospitalières*, a humble house on the cliff, overlooking the St. Charles; and the sheltered site which had been selected for the convent of the Ursulines, under the hill which rose steeply to its crest, then covered with forest, now crowned by the citadel. It did not consume much time to arrange their scanty wardrobes and the still scantier furniture in the temporary wooden building assigned to them. Before all else they were anxious to see the Indians whom they expected to be their special charge. The next day, accordingly, they were taken in a schooner to Sillery. They found there the little circle of Indian huts grouped around the church, the priest's house and the infirmary, all surrounded by a wooden palisade. The Indians were accustomed to the black-robed priests, but these strangely clad

women at first frightened them.* A band of Indians and squaws excites the curiosity of white men, even to-day, after the white race has lived in contact with the red for four centuries. At that moment they were invested with a mysterious charm, and the possibility of raising them through Christian teaching and kindness out of savagery to civilization gave to them in the eyes of these zealous missionaries an almost sacred aspect. The *Hospitalières* would have been depressed could they have foreseen how few Indians their hospital wards were, after a few years, to receive; and Madame de la Peltrie would hardly have believed it possible that the training and the careful nurturing, which her sisters were about to offer so freely to the Indian girls, would fail to attract them. The regimen of the Jesuit schools, though comparatively lax, had driven away their pupils. This might have warned Madame de la Peltrie that the close confinement of a convent would prove intolerable to the forest-loving Indian girl.

But full of hope and faith, the Hospital and the Ursuline Nuns were now to part, after three months of intimate intercourse, to take up each their appointed work. Till their hospital was finished, the Grey Nuns were provided with a house near the Fort, and the Ursulines opened their school, and resumed the routine of their cloistered life, with six pupils, in a house in the Lower Town, near the landing place, adjacent to the old Recollet chapel and the Company's old store. There the Indians camped and chiefly congregated; and by opening their school in that neighborhood, the nuns expected to attract to it the girls whose hearts they were so devoutly set on winning from barbarism and the devil to the worship of Jesus and his Mother, by the exhibition of the comforts which their convent presented, and by the charm of their singing and their attractive form of worship.

* The *Hospitalières* did not assume their official costume as Grey Nuns till they entered their convent.

CHAPTER XII.

The Foundation of Ville Marie as a Rival to Quebec, and the Breaking Out of the Iroquois War.

The ships that brought out the nuns carried also the tidings of the birth of the Dauphin, the long-prayed-for heir to Louis XIII.'s throne, the Dieudonné Louis XIV., who was to take so deep an interest in the colony, but to govern it under a more bureaucratic system than even the great Cardinal himself might have approved. There was great rejoicing in the colony. The event was celebrated by a procession to the chapel, where thanks were rendered to the accompaniment of cannon and musketry. The most notable feature in the procession was six Indians dressed in finery, which had been sent out to Canada by the King on the occasion of the presentation to him of a young savage the previous year. This youth was one of the six; two others were relatives of his; the remaining three had been selected as representatives of the great racial divisions recognized by the French—a Christianized Huron, an Algonquin, a Montagnais. They bore their honors as though to the manner born, and headed the procession to the church; thence they marched to the hospital recently opened, in the chapel of which there was another service of thanksgiving, and then returned to the Fort. For this thanksgiving service was celebrated on the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, August 15, and therefore fifteen days after the landing of the nuns, who with their pupils sang the *exordium*. The day terminated with feasting and speech making and a display of fireworks.

While the picturesque worship, with its seductive music and mysterious symbolism, delighted the Indians, their attachment to the French must have been further strengthened by the care for the bodies in the hour of sickness so tenderly exercised by the Sisters at the Hotel Dieu. Though the teaching nuns, the Ursulines, were not encumbered with over many pupils, the nursing

ones found their hospital at once filled with more than they could make proper provision for. To induce the Indians to adopt a sedentary mode of life, the company offered a grant of cleared land as a dower to every Indian girl on her marriage, provided she and her husband would settle upon it. Not many appear to have availed themselves of the offer. It is recorded that a member of the company gave 100 écus to the Jesuit College for Indian boys, while another gave 100 écus to an Indian girl on her marriage to a Frenchman. From Champlain's time, intermarriage of Frenchmen with Indian girls was not only sanctioned but encouraged by the Church and by the company. The custom affords another point of contrast between New France and New England. All these influences combined to strengthen the ties which bound the Indians to the French, and to increase the number of converts. Had it not been for the unfortunate hostility of the Iroquois, the laudable efforts of the Church and the company to elevate and Christianize the aborigines within the sphere of their influence, might have met with as much success as the labors of the Spanish Church among the Pueblos of the Rio Grande, or those of the Franciscan Monks in California.

Of religious zeal there was an abundance, yet the colony did not grow. Some seventeen seignories were granted prior to 1640, and absolute grants of land were made in the neighborhood of Quebec and Three Rivers; but it was hard to get people to come and cultivate them. One or two energetic residents like Giffard did induce a few peasants from Normandy to settle on the rich bottom lands of the Beauport Flats; but such efforts were exceptional. Cheffault, the most influential member of the auxiliary company, was perhaps entitled to the best lands in the country, which he obtained when the Seignory of Beaupré was conceded to him; and Jacques Castillon, another shareholder, might show some reason for claiming the Island of Orleans; but as both were traders neither was in a position to fulfill the first duty of a *seigneur*—namely, to encourage the toil of the colonists by personal participation in the arduous task of opening up the wilderness. Three extensive grants were made to the Jesuits, with the ostensible object of enabling them to form settlements on which

the Indians might be taught agriculture. Had the plan succeeded, close familiarity between the Indian and the Frenchman would not have proved conducive to industrious habits on the part of the latter. The Duchess d'Aiguillon, it may be assumed, ceded her seignory, the fief of Grondines and the thirty acres within the banlieu of Quebec, to the Hôtel Dieu. Still others of those early grants were made to absentee stockholders—one covering a large tract on the south shore, opposite Quebec, being given to Le Maistre, a shareholder, as attorney for de Lauzon, the Intendant of the company. Even had the seignorial system been well adapted to encourage the immigration of actual farmers, the system must have failed under such leaders. In truth all the influences at work deterred rather than encouraged active settlement. The colony was governed by a military knight who had taken religious vows. The Jesuits, who were his trusted advisers, had reduced the colony as nearly as possible to the status of a theocracy, and all private enterprise was strangled by the commercial company, whose interest was to retard rather than to promote colonization. Their professions of zeal in the matter, to judge by the facts, were quite as hollow as those of their heretical predecessors.

At this date, when the population of the whole colony did not exceed two hundred, the Virginian colony, which had been in existence just about the same length of time, had attracted a population of 15,000, while the New England colony numbered some 26,000. Boston was a thriving town with a printing press.

When a trading company undertakes the functions of government, there are so many drains on its treasury of an unproductive character, and it has to disburse so much in protecting its privileges, that its gains must be enormous if business is to be carried on at a profit. The French company, as we have seen, set out on its active career burdened with debt, and embarrassed by an auxiliary mortgage company. Nevertheless, for three or four years subsequent to 1633, when de Caen's monopoly expired, it made money. But the bold attack of the Iroquois on the Hurons under the very guns of the post of Three Rivers in 1636, checked the current of the fur trade from the Lakes. The arrangement of the original company with the auxiliary one ex-

pired in 1637, the year after the breaking out of hostilities. The profits earned had amounted to 60,000 livres, after paying to de Caen and others certain judgments amounting to some 75,000 livres. The partnership was renewed for another period of four years. But the second term was as disastrous as the first had been successful, for at its close the company owed the auxiliary company 70,464 livres. Confidence had hardly been restored in the hearts of the Huron and Algonquin allies of the French, when the audacious seizure of two Frenchmen near Three Rivers, in the winter of 1640-1641, and the circumstances of their surrender in the summer of 1641, demonstrated the helplessness of the French company to maintain a safe highway for their traders. The incident threw the Quebec community into greater excitement than it had known since so many of its prominent men had hurried up the river in 1637, to repel the same ubiquitous and elusive foe. It happened in this wise. Two Frenchmen, François Marguerie and Thomas Godefroy, the latter a man of note who some years before had been granted a seignory opposite Three Rivers, were hunting on snowshoes near Three Rivers when they were surprised and captured by a band of Iroquois. They were carried off unharmed to a Mohawk village, where they were treated with great consideration. When they were in want of clothing their Indian captors obtained garments for them from the Dutch at the neighboring settlement of Fort Orange, and in April they set off on a return journey in company with some 50 savages, part of whom left the main body to molest the Lake and Ottawa Indians on their way down to the trading post of Three Rivers, while the rest descended the river with their hostages. On the 6th of June, more than twenty canoes filled with savages appeared before Three Rivers. An Algonquin who ventured out was captured. Then a single canoe, paddled, it was thought, by one of the Indians, appeared with a flag of truce. As it approached the man was seen to be François Marguerie. He said that the Indians wished for the friendship of the French, that 500 had left the village and 300 were on the river, and that they had amongst them thirty arquebuses. Montmagny, whose name trans-

lated into the Indian tongue was "Onon-tio," a designation henceforth given to all French Governors, was notified with all haste, and came up with a bark and four shallops. The wind being contrary, he went ahead in his rowboat. There was a solemn pow-wow with exchange of presents, and the two Frenchmen were liberated with proper theatrical accompaniments, their bonds cut asunder, and the ropes thrown into the river.

The Iroquois pleaded for an alliance, expressing their preference for the French over the English or the Dutch, and offering to live peaceably with the Montagnais and the Algonquins; but when asked, as a pledge of their promise, to liberate an Algonquin prisoner, they asked for time to deliberate, and demanded in return, in addition to the presents they had already received, a gift of firearms, though they were already supplied with a number of arquebuses. The priests strongly advised the Governor to decline the alliance, believing the negotiations to be insincere, and that the sole purpose was to create dissension between the French and their allies. The Governor returned to his boats, and, as an expressive way of signifying his decision, began firing on their camp. In return the thirty arquebuses kept up a fusilade on the boats, while the main body noiselessly transported their canoes and equipment to a part of the river whence they could escape without detection. They hovered about Lake St. Peter and captured some descending Hurons, but had vanished before the arrival of the reinforcements ordered from Quebec, consisting of four canoes full of armed men under the guidance of Christian Indians from St. Joseph, Sillery.

That the action of the Iroquois in seeking an alliance, was a mere ruse to entrap the Montagnais and the Algonquins on their approach to Three Rivers, may be doubted. Their policy was probably more far-reaching. The peace between their Indian enemies on the Hudson and Long Island, and the Dutch, had been broken by the unwise policy of Kieft, the Governor of New Netherlands, and the Five Nations were preparing to take advantage of the situation to ravage the country of those weak tribes. They had always considered it a grievance that the Dutch, who were their close allies and best customers, would not make enemies of their

enemies among the native tribes, after the manner of the French, who, having made alliance with the Algonquins and Hurons, had at once espoused their quarrels, as they, the Iroquois, knew to their cost. They may have imagined that, as the Dutch were on the eve of hostilities with a branch of the Huron nation, it might be possible to persuade the French, as well as the Dutch, to become their friends, and thus cause all assistance to be withdrawn from their hereditary foes. With the aid of the Europeans, or simply with their neutrality, they could crush the continent into submission, reduce all the members of the great Algonquin family to the position of subject tribes, and relieve the trade of both European competitors from the risks and uncertainty which this interminable war created. These brave and merciless warriors and skilful tacticians were, as politicians, astute and far seeing. They held the balance of power on the continent for nearly a century and a half, and it would not therefore be inconsistent with their character and policy to suppose that they imagined they could use the motive of self-interest to wean their European neighbors from extending sympathy and aid to their enemy. But whatever their object, their overtures were refused, with the result that the fur trade between the Upper Lakes and the Ottawa and the French posts was seriously fettered; in fact, it never again prospered, and the decay reached to Quebec. Meanwhile, though the Iroquois did not yet terrorize the Montagnais of the Saguenay district, there was another source of anxiety in that direction, as it was impossible to watch and defend the wide expanse of the Gulf, a true inland sea, against poachers, who were drafted in part from the discontented traders of Normandy and Brittany, and in part from the hostile merchants and skippers of Devonshire and Bristol. Between the Iroquois on the one hand and the marauders on the other, the trade of the company languished, its profits waned, and the colony, which was to have shared its prosperity, felt all the effects of its ill fortune.

The ecclesiastical history of the colony seems during this period to stand out in undue proportion to its civil and political development—perhaps because neither the Governor nor the agents

of the company could tell the story of their doings with the literary skill displayed by Father le Jeune when narrating the toils and triumphs of the Church. That excellent man and interesting writer was relieved by Father Vimont as Superior of the Jesuits in 1639, but he was considerably asked to prepare the *Relation* for 1640. In 1640 more nursing nuns arrived from the Maison de Miséricorde of Dieppe, but their number was soon to be reduced by the death of the gentle, delicate Mère Ste. Marie. A branch of the Hôtel Dieu Hospital was also established at Sillery, where the colony of sedentary Indians was growing so fast as to excite the keenest hopes of success in the work of weaning the converted natives from their indolent and roving habits. The opening of the hospital at Sillery made it possible to turn over part of their scanty accommodation in Quebec to the Jesuits, whose building, used as a presbytery as well as a school, and situated near Champlain's *Chapelle de la Recouvrance*, was burned in June 14. The fire spread to and consumed the wooden church itself, so that till the Jesuits' own church, in connection with their college, was finished in 1653, the chapel of the Hôtel Dieu was the parish church of Quebec.

Two more Ursuline nuns arrived with the Hospitalières, and an addition was made to the Society of Jesus; but there is no record of the number of actual settlers who came into the country, or of the commerce of the post. Nevertheless, it was a busy summer. In fact, the short period of the fleet's stay every year was so crowded with work and distraction, that on one occasion, Father le Jeune tells us, they postponed the baptism of an Indian catechumen till after it had sailed. There had been this summer an unusual piece of dissipation. The Dauphin's birthday had been celebrated by a theatrical performance, either in the Jesuit College or at the castle. The play is designated as a tragi-comedy, and was composed and put upon the stage by Mons. Piraulie. Father le Jeune describes the performance with much detail, for, at the request of the pious Governor, it was turned to the edification of the Indians, by the introduction of a scene in which a lost soul was seen chased by demons into actual flames, its shrieks of despair responded to by the exulting shouts of devils.

The Indians were all much impressed, and one was actually converted.

A great excitement was also caused in the month of June by the news of the approach of a most unexpected visitor, under the guidance of some Abenaki Indians. He was an Englishman, who had descended the Chaudière from Maine, in search of the Northwest passage, which he hoped to find by way of the Saguenay. He had been in New Mexico, and had heard stories of a great sea which he understood to be to the north instead of to the west of that distant region. The gorge of the Saguenay he believed to be an arm of this sea. But New France was not a field for exploration except for Frenchmen; the English tourist was therefore arrested before he reached the town, and ordered to return by the way he had come. As the waters of the Chaudière and the Loup had fallen, this was impossible, so he was ordered to leave the country by ship. He saw the object of his dreams, the mouth of the Saguenay, at Tadousac, and the sight must have made him eager to prove or disprove his theory. The French, however, already knew that the Saguenay was a river and had its head waters in a small lake. *Sieur Nicolet*, moreover, had already ascended the Sault Ste. Marie and seen the setting sun dip into the great Lake; and though he knew this could not be the Western Ocean—for its waters were fresh—it was agreed that it was at least the inland sea, which the Englishman was in search of to the north of Mexico. It was therefore clear to them that it was idle to seek a route to China by way of the Saguenay.

Father le Jeune returned to France in the autumn of 1640, to plead for more energetic measures against the Iroquois, and more activity in the work of colonization and Christianization. He did this notwithstanding the fact that an association was already being formed to establish a fortified post on the Island of Montreal with these very objects in view. That enterprise was not controlled by the Society of Jesus. Its promoters hoped to people their settlement with Indian converts, whom they fondly believed they could protect from the bloodthirsty Iroquois. The impelling motive, therefore, was above all religious. The Montreal colonists embarked from Rochelle and Dieppe in

three ships, with other passengers for New France. Among them was a Jesuit, Père de la Place, and the secular chaplain of the Ursulines, the Rev. Mons. Antoine Fauls. The Rev. Father Rapin, Provincial of the Recollets, as well as the Jesuit organization in Old France, had lent their aid to this new enterprise, to which a grant of the Island of Montreal had been made by Monsieur de Lauzon, with the consent of the Company of the One Hundred Associates. So far all was well, but there was by no means the same harmony in Canada when the newcomers presented themselves. Of the three ships the first to arrive at Quebec was that which had on board Mademoiselle Mance, a young woman inflamed with as ardent a missionary fervor as Madame de la Peltrie, but of a less impulsive temperament, and apparently possessed of more common sense. She employed her time while awaiting the arrival of her chief, Mons. Paul de Chomedey, Sieur de Maisonneuve, in gauging the opinion of the Quebec settlement regarding the new enterprise. The account of what occurred, as told by the author of the "*Histoire de Montreal*," generally attributed to Mons. Dollier de Casson, a priest of the Order of St. Sulpice, and third Superior of the Order in Montreal, gives a charming picture of the courteous manners which the early Quebec settlers had transplanted from Old to New France, and of the generous hospitality displayed by those who themselves had known what it was to be strangers in a strange land.

As soon as Mons. de Maisonneuve arrived he heard from Mademoiselle Mance that, officially, he must expect to be less cordially received by certain personages than perhaps he had anticipated. This unexpected communication dampened somewhat the joy of the moment, but as the good priest expresses it, "Such heroes of the Cross must expect to taste bitter, as well as sweet." Nevertheless, he made, without delay, ceremonious calls on Mons. de Montmagny, the Jesuit Fathers, and other persons of consequence. They were not many, inasmuch as the total population, including priests and nuns, was less than one hundred souls. He found that those inimical to his project had persuaded the Governor to oppose the establishment of a post in Mon-

treal on the ground of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of defending it against the attacks of the Iroquois. In any case the Governor urged him to defer his visit to the future Ville-Marie until the following spring. It is not stated whether the opposition came from the commercial interests of the colony, which feared competition, or from the Jesuits, who foresaw ecclesiastical as well as civil complications as likely to grow out of the new undertaking; or whether Montmagny was himself piqued that so important a commission, to be exercised apparently in independence of his authority, should have been created within the recognized limits of his government. The opposition is generally attributed solely to the Commercial Company, who foresaw that the head of navigation and the meeting spot of the two great rivers would eventually become the great mart of furs. If the Jesuits were in opposition they must have eventually acquiesced, otherwise the Governor, who was guided wholly by their counsels, would not have yielded. From a military point of view the Governor was justified in opposing the foundation of a new town at that time, as events proved that neither he nor the local Governor was able to protect it. The traders were right in anticipating that trade would be deflected from its existing channels; and the Jesuit Fathers knew that one of the most ardent apostles of the new movement was Jean Jacques Olier, a young and enthusiastic priest, who was not a member of their order. This ecclesiastic subsequently founded the Seminary of St. Sulpice in Paris, a community which acquired the rights of the Montreal company and the ownership of the island itself. The rivalry between the two towns thus commenced in their very infancy. But the eloquence of Mons. de Maisonneuve, his religious enthusiasm and military ardor, bore down all opposition, and Montmagny himself accompanied him, late as it was in the season, to the scene of his future government. They started together in the beginning of October, and reached Montreal on the 14th of that month. On the following day, they took formal possession in the name of the company, and soon returned.

On their journey back they experienced special marks, as we

read, of the Saviour's favor, for, having reached St. Foy, a day's journey from Quebec, they were entertained by Mons. de Pizeaux, an old gentleman of seventy-five years of age, who was so impressed by Mons. de Maisonneuve's pious scheme that he prayed to be allowed to join the association, and to devote not only himself but his property at St. Foy, and all he possessed, to their service. He pleaded that at St. Foy there were oak forests close to the river, where boats for the Montreal Company could be built during the winter months, while at Pointe aux Pizeaux the furniture and equipment for the Montreal fort could be made, ere spring and open navigation would permit their transportation. To Maisonneuve, perplexed by the difficulty of housing and providing for his whole company during the long winter months, the offer sounded like a voice from heaven, but he had to defer formal acceptance until he had consulted his colleagues. Meanwhile, however, he installed his surgeon and his head carpenter at St. Foy, to superintend the boat building, and descended to Pointe aux Pizeaux, where his host put his house, the very jewel of the colony, *le bijou du pais*, and all that it contained, at his disposal, informing Madame de la Peltrie, who had heretofore been his guest, that she must henceforth consider Mons. de Maisonneuve as, not only her host, but the owner in his stead of all that he possessed.

Thus the society of Quebec was during all that winter enlivened by the presence of a group of intelligent enthusiasts, whose ultimate aim was at one with that of the dominant party, though there was sufficient difference in their methods and projects to leave room for lively discussion. Yet as Pointe aux Pizeaux was miles away from the Castle of St. Louis and the Jesuits' House, and as there was not yet a horse in the colony, communication must have been difficult. The benevolent old gentleman, some years later, changed his mind, for according to Mons. l'Abbé de Belmont's "*Histoire de la Nouvelle France*," he repented in 1645 of his gift and it was returned to him. The whole company, however, did not accept of Mons. Pizeaux's hospitality. Despite the entreaty of the Governor, who urged them to tarry till spring and enjoy such comforts as the Fort offered,

Father Antoine Fauls and some twenty-five colonists, accompanied by the Jesuit Father Vimont, in their anxiety to engage in their holy work, started for Montreal, where they arrived almost as winter was setting in, occupied the camp which had been prepared for them, and bravely faced the future. They were not short of food, for, the year before, the Montreal Association had shipped twenty tons of supplies. But the Iroquois were prowling everywhere around, and the terrors of impending winter, as well as of the wilderness, might well have appalled these sons of sunny France, had their faith and pious enthusiasm not been proof against all fears. Thus was Montreal founded as a harbor for the hunted Indians; colonization was pushed one hundred miles further up the river than Three Rivers, and the first regular intercourse by boat was established; one of the conditions on which the island was granted being that the company should furnish two shallops or pinnaces to ply between Quebec and Montreal and carry freight and colonists' supplies.

The amenities of life were sure to be found in a colony the inhabitants of which were French. The glimpse which we get of Mons. Pizeaux's house at Sillery, with its open door and hospitable hearth, shows that the fascinations and glorious scenery of the St. Lawrence had already attracted some wealth, and that wealth had introduced some refinements. But so long as the colony was at the mercy of the Iroquois, nothing could prosper. Well aware of this, the Governor on his return in the spring of 1642 from installing de Maisonneuve in possession of the Island of Montreal, determined to build a fort at the mouth of the River of the Iroquois, and to name it after the great Cardinal. The name has since been transferred to the river. He then proceeded to enlist the first contingent of Canadian militia—one hundred of the colonists—who proved their efficiency by repelling an attack made by a band of Iroquois while the fort was in course of construction. But the result of stopping one outlet from the Iroquois country was merely to make the flood of savagery burst forth from others. To the south of the Adirondacks is a chain of lakes and rivers, which link the Mohawk with the St. Lawrence by shorter portages than

even the Lake Champlain route. By it the Indians of the Five Nations could reach the mouth of the Ottawa by canoe from the territory of the Mohawks, while the Hurons themselves, in blazing a trail for Champlain, had pointed the way to their enemies between the Georgian Bay and the Genessee River by way of the Trent and Lake Ontario.

Terror seized Quebec in August, 1642. Father Jogues had been recalled from the Huron country by his Superior, and was returning with some French and a number of Hurons in August, when the whole party was surprised and attacked by Iroquois at a point only about forty-five miles above Quebec. The story of the heroism of his companions and of his own devotion forms one of the most thrilling episodes of Canadian history. The incident forced upon the people of Quebec, and still more appallingly on the exposed colony of Sillery, the conviction that no one was safe from the ruthless savages, armed no longer with bows and arrows, but with matchlocks as deadly as those of the white men. The Dutch Governors of New Netherlands had forbidden the sale of firearms and ammunition to the Indians, but while they had been able to enforce their regulations on traders dealing with Algonquin tribes on and near Manhattan Island, they were powerless to control the trade of the *padrons* of Rensselaerwick, whose cheapest articles of barter with the Iroquois of the neighboring confederacy were muskets, powder and shot. Thus it came about that, of all the Indians of the continent, those in whose hands firearms were most dangerous were those who could most readily procure them. From this time forward the Iroquois set equally at defiance their Indian enemies and the French. Becoming bolder and more aggressive, they changed their tactics, scattering in small bands, and striking blows in rapid succession where least expected, and at points distant one from another, along the river. In the early spring a company of Hurons with their peltries was captured above Three Rivers. A month later another band of 140 Iroquois took thirteen canoes filled with Hurons near the Island of Montreal itself, seized their cargoes, and killed or captured most of the men. Five Frenchmen who were working near

the fort were made prisoners. Quebec had not been attacked, and would not be as long as its men remained to defend it; and it was clear that, unless soldiers arrived from France to protect the colony, the colonists themselves, with all the will in the world, would not think of leaving their homes exposed to attack in order to make an aggressive move.

News reached Chanfleury, Governor of Three Rivers, through an escaped Huron, that Father Jogues was still alive, and forthwith Governor Montmagny started from Quebec in four shallops for Fort Richelieu, around which an Iroquois band had been hovering, hoping, either by force of arms or by persuasion, to secure the Father's release. On his appearance the enemy vanished, and he dared not follow them by their forest trails. Then came a letter from Jogues himself—the fourth he had written. It created gloomy foreboding. His winter's residence in the Mohawk village had convinced him that the Iroquois could harry the Hurons, until those who remained would be compelled to accept adoption into the Five Nations; and he saw clearly that they would be helpless unless the French sent an army to protect them, for the Mohawks alone could muster seven hundred warriors, armed with three hundred arquebuses. Yet certainly France at the moment could not furnish any military assistance. Richelieu, to whom regenerated Canada owed its very existence, died in December, 1642, and the King, whose most eminent virtue had been his willingness to be led by his great Minister, followed him to the grave a few months later. Louis XIV. was only five years of age. Anne of Austria, his mother, was trusted by no one. Cardinal Mazarin, her adviser, was hated by all. Thus distrust and discontent were breeding civil strife at home, while the final struggles of the Thirty Years' War were wasting what remained of France's financial resources and cruelly diminishing her population.

Colonization could not flourish when such complications in the foreign and domestic affairs of France coincided with the Iroquois War, which almost extinguished the fur trade, completed the ruin of the company, and distracted the energies of the colonists from agricultural pursuits. For three years there was only broken

intercourse between Quebec and the Georgian Bay. Father Bressani, as well as Father Jogues, fell into the hands of the Mohawks, but though they were tortured, the Indians apparently considered it impolitic to kill them. Several *Relations* were irretrievably lost in transmission from the missionaries at the Huron bourgade to Father Vimont, the Superior in Quebec. Meanwhile, however, the fervor of the missionaries was fanned by the risks they ran, and their zeal bore fruit in the widespread conversion of the Indians. After making all allowance for exaggeration of statement due to a natural and laudable enthusiasm, it seems to be true that the whole Huron nation accepted the practice of Christianity, and, as far as their language could express them, the doctrines and tenets of the Church, and that fair progress was made in evangelizing the less intelligent and more barbarous tribes of the Algonquin stock to the north and south of the St. Lawrence.

The population of Quebec grew very slowly, but some notable accessions were made to the colony. Mons. d'Aillebout arrived in the summer of 1643, with his wife and daughters. He was deeply interested in the Montreal enterprise, and played a conspicuous, if not a very brilliant, part in the future history of the colony. His coming was very welcome, for it had been a specially anxious summer. It was the 15th of August before the first two ships of the season hove in sight, having on board, besides himself and family, Mons. Chartres (who came out as the curé of the Ursulines), four more Jesuit Fathers and three nuns. The religious recruits were the only ones who had any enthusiasm for their work. Had the government of France and the mercantile interests been as alive to the vast extent and value of Canada as a field for colonization and trade, the results would have been different; but, in reality, it was because the evangelization of the aborigines was the most prominent motive in France, and because the decidedly autocratic and restrictive rules and procedure of the Church determined the principles of government in the colony itself, that material progress was so slow. Not only were the Huguenots, with their wealth and enterprise, excluded, but the Church favored the new company, with its oppressive privileges, because it was con-

trolled by members of the True Faith, and pledged to support its ministers and follow their guidance.

Already, however, the alliance between the Church and the company was exposing the priests to suspicion. As early as 1636 Father le Jeune was compelled to clear himself and his fellow priests of a charge, made to the Provincial in France, that they were engaging in the fur trade. One may assume that the complaint was made by the company. Father le Jeune points out that, while no one but the company can export furs, any habitant may buy them in exchange for produce and resell to the company. They had purchased them for clothing and domestic use, and as long as they merely used and did not export them, they considered themselves as acting within their rights. Now, however, they were accused of having an interest in the company's operations, and of using their exceptional advantages for the furtherance of commercial purposes. In rebuttal of the slander, the Abbé de la Ferté and others felt impelled by Christian charity to disabuse the minds of those who might be inclined to believe these rumors by declaring in the most formal manner that the Jesuit Fathers were not associated with the company of New France, either directly or indirectly, and had no part or parcel in the company's mercantile transactions.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Trading Company of the Habitants, the Constitution of 1647 and the Close of Governor Montmagny's Term of Office.

Scanty as the population was, it was beginning to fret under the restrictions of trade. Before the Iroquois War, when the Indians came down in crowds, the prosperity was general. Now trade was at a standstill, and every one in authority was to blame—primarily the company, inferentially the clergy, who were such close friends and intimate advisers of the Governor, and whose *Relations* were so full of complimentary references to the big trade corporation. Even the Iroquois troubles were laid, in no small degree, at the door of the Jesuits. To the immigrants, the Hurons must have been only Indians, and one Indian was as good or as bad as another. Why, because the Hurons were converts to Christianity and the pets of the Jesuits, the whole country should be exposed to the ravages of their enemies, must at times have been a question that the French *habitants* and the people of Quebec and Three Rivers asked themselves with some bitterness of spirit. The only contemporary records are the Jesuits' own narrative, and they give voice to no such discontent. Dissatisfaction and suspicion nevertheless were abroad, and they found vent in the sending of a deputation to France, to secure from the King and the company some relaxation of the restraints on trade, and also to petition for the return of the Recollets.

The députation consisted of Pierre de Garde de Repentigny, of whom we have heard as arriving with his pretty daughters in 1637, and Jean Paul Godefroy, one of the original settlers, who had left the country with Champlain on the first conquest of Quebec. The denial of complicity by the Jesuits was made on December 1, 1643; the meeting of the company to discuss the modification in

their charter was held between December, 1644, and January, 1645; and a new arrangement was agreed to between the company and the deputation from the inhabitants of Canada on the 14th of the same month. Clearly, therefore, these concessions were the results of an agitation of some long standing in the colony.

As yet trade had not drifted up the river to Montreal, and the Montreal Association still confined itself to the religious functions which were the basis of its organization. Fort Richelieu, on the site of Sorel, had not yet become the nucleus of a settlement. The small traders of Quebec and Three Rivers fretted under the privileges of the company, and the *habitants* were probably hampered by the company's agents in disposing of the peltries, which they received in exchange for their farm products. The document in which new terms were granted to the people of Canada declares that the company holds inviolate its territorial and seigniorial rights, but that it cedes and remits, subject to the King's good pleasure, to the inhabitants of the country, present and to come, all its exclusive rights and functions to engage in the trade of skins and furs in New France, over the whole length of the lands which border the great river St. Lawrence and its tributaries, to its discharge into the sea, commencing at ten leagues from the concession of Miscou, on the south and north shores, as far as the limits of the said company's privileges extended, excluding, however, trade in the colonies of Acadia, Miscou and Cape Breton. But it makes the concession only on condition that the colonists relieve the company of its charter obligation to support the colony of New France, and therefore discharge the company of the ordinary expense it has heretofore borne in supporting the ecclesiastics, governors, lieutenants, captains, soldiers, garrison in the fort and throughout the inhabited portions of the same country, and generally all other charges which may be due by the company under the original charter. But no skins or peltries are to be sold to any one but the company, nor exported through any other channel than the company's ships. The Queen Regent confirms this very one-sided arrangement, which concedes little or nothing to the people, while relieving the company of its obli-

gation to the crown and the colony. Richelieu would never have consented to it. It made every inhabitant who bought skins the mere agent of the company, as no one but the company could repurchase or export them. The document recites that the company has spent 1,200,000 livres, over and above its revenue, and that the debts for which the associates are individually liable amount to 400,000 livres more. The inhabitants agreed to compensate the company by the annual payment of 1,000 pounds weight of beaver skins, and appointed Noël Juchereau de Chastelet their clerk, but no such consideration is mentioned in the Edict. At the same time a shadow of municipal government would seem to have been granted to Canada, though no official document exists which confirms the concession. Each of the towns of Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal was allowed to appoint a syndic, and the three persons so appointed were to constitute an advisory board to confer, but nothing more, with the Governor. It was a very meagre measure of self-government.*

The trade concessions were small, but the people at once took advantage of them. Father Lalemant tells us that Pontgravé arrived in August, 1645, with five ships, bearing with him the document containing the terms of the treaty between the *habitants* and the company, and that when the Huron fleet of canoes arrived at Three Rivers, the *habitants* bought the entire cargo, so that the returning fleet was freighted with 20,000 pounds of beaver skins on account of the inhabitants, and 10,000 belonging to the company, worth a pistole, or 10 to 11 francs, to the pound. The sailing of the fleet on the 24th of October with the first consignment was celebrated by the firing of cannons and a general rejoicing.

This first commercial transaction of the *habitants'* company with the Indians had not been effected without considerable friction with the company's agent. The exact terms of the treaty were rather vague. But the priests interposed their good offices, and it was decided ultimately to use the profits, whatever they might be, in building a church and a presbytery. Thus the first

* One reason why the commercial conditions of the treaty must have proved peculiarly burdensome to the inhabitants was that the Montreal Company, in virtue, presumably, of its exclusively religious intentions, obtained, by convention with the inhabitants, exemption from the payment of its share of the consideration.

year's trade did not lighten the company's burden of debt, nor yet did it put money into the pockets of the people. The new convention can hardly have been to the taste of the Jesuits, as it transferred the responsibility for their partial support from a corporation, with tangible assets and composed of individuals of wealth, to a scattered community, with no political or financial organization. However this may have been, they did not abate their missionary efforts. Up to 1646, two of the priests had been captured by the Iroquois and tortured, barely escaping with their lives; two had died, and one had been frozen to death in the snows between Three Rivers and Fort Richelieu. Still the total number in the colony continued to increase—there being thirteen or more in the Huron *bourgades* alone. In Quebec part of their new college building was already in use, and Father Bressani was teaching the French children. The nuns of the Hôtel Dieu, fearful of an attack by the Iroquois, had retreated from Sillery to Quebec, where their substantial hospital and chapel were approaching completion, and were clearing the forest from their grant of twelve acres at a cost of 150 livres per arpent. The number of their patients always exceeded their accommodations, and they nursed in a large wigwam near by those whom their hospital could not receive. The Ursulines in 1642 moved from their temporary quarters in the Lower Town and took possession of their wooden building. In 1644 Madame de la Peltrie built a two storied stone house on the Ursuline reservation. The Jesuits were occupying quarters in the company's building, supposed to have been situated where the English Cathedral now stands, and had appropriated one of the rooms for use as a chapel. A curious picture has been preserved of the Convent and its grounds, made at some date between the erection in 1644 of Madame de la Peltrie's house, which appears in the foreground, and the fire of 1650, which destroyed the nunnery. We have reproduced it from "Glimpses of the Monastery."

Both the Ursulines and the Hospitalières were ready to extend their good offices to all who needed aid, the latter relieving the needy, as well as the sick, the former throwing their doors open to the squaw as freely as to her child. Whatever resentment there

may have been against the growing influence of the Jesuits in politics, the religious ladies, whether they had taken the vows or were still free to shape their own course, like Madame de la Peltrie or Mademoiselle Mance, or Margaret Bourgeoys, were the leaven of unselfishness and purity, elevating the social life of the whole colony.

During this summer of 1645, there was a break in the black cloud which had for over three years overhung the colony. In the previous autumn the Hurons had taken three Iroquois prisoners, one of whom they had given to their allies, the Algonquins, who in turn presented him manacled and half dead to the Governor of Three Rivers. In the spring two other Iroquois prisoners were taken by Algonquin Indians from Sillery, and brought alive to that settlement. Mons. de Montmagny wisely decided to hold these prisoners as hostages for the return of two Frenchmen retained by the Iroquois, and he induced Mons. de Chanfleury to send the third, who had received every care and kindness from the French, to Three Rivers, as a messenger of peace to the Iroquois. He fulfilled his mission promptly, faithfully and skillfully, for by the 5th of July he had returned to Three Rivers with two Iroquois chiefs, commissioned to treat for peace, not only with the French, but with their Indian allies. With them came Guillaume Couture, one of the Frenchmen captured with Father Jogues. Governor Montmagny was at once informed of the arrival of the embassy, and hurried up to the council, which was held with due solemnity, elaborate ceremony, and abundant oratory, as each of the seventeen wampum belts was a text for a separate head of the oration. At the close of the Iroquois harangue, which occupied the first day, all joined in a dance, in which the Iroquois, the French, the Algonquins, the Hurons, the Montagnais, the Abenakis, and the Etchemins vied with one another in expressing their joy. The next day was devoted to feasting the allies of France and preparing them to accept a peace, which, however, could be agreed to only after profound consideration by the Governor of the weighty arguments used by the Iroquois orators, hasty decision on any grave question being, by the rules of Indian etiquette, bad form. On the following day

the Governor responded by giving fourteen presents to the Iroquois ambassadors, each present emphasizing the recollection of a past injury, or a distinct principle or promise to be respected in the future, if peace was to prevail. Then with more speech-making by all the parties to the contract, peace was declared, and the Iroquois embassy departed, amidst the roll of musketry, accompanied by two French lads, who were entrusted to their care as a token of confidence.

The first fruit of the peace was the arrival, unmolested, of a fleet of sixty Huron canoes, laden with furs, and bringing back Father Lalemant, who had been appointed Superior of the mission in place of Father Vimont, also some soldiers, who had been sent out the year before from France, and whom the Governor had hurried forward to protect the missionaries on Lake Huron. Though the French government sent the troops (twenty-two men in all), it made no provision for their maintenance. During the year that they were in the Huron country they were quartered on the Jesuit Fathers, who claimed that they not only acted as commissary agents, but as medical staff and as armourers, and that at least two hundred livres should have been allowed them per head, instead of the inadequate compensation they received.

The withdrawal of the troops from the Huron country was another proof of the fatal tendency of Montmagny to lapse into a false security. Had the military force with the Hurons been increased, instead of being withdrawn, the terrible massacres of 1648 and 1649 might have been averted. The conduct of these soldiers differed widely from that of other white men thrown among the Indians, if we may accept Father Vimont's statement that "they returned with a fuller cargo of virtue, and knowledge of the sacred verities, than they had taken on board in France." Shortly after a delegation arrived from all the northern tribes, and finally, on the 17th of September, appeared four delegates from the Mohawks. These, though not representatives of the whole confederacy, professed to be authorized to confirm the treaty of peace, a ceremony attended with even more palaver, and exchanging of wampum and presents than the making of the compact itself. The peace thus concluded lasted for less than a

year. Early in the winter of 1646 a band of Christian Indians from Sillery was attacked, and three of them were killed; but it was proved that the onslaught was made by members of the Sokoquois tribe, who were not members of the confederacy and had not been a party to the treaty.

The belief that the Mohawks, at any rate, would be true to their pledges was expressed by a visit of Father Jogues to the scene of his former sufferings. He neither heard nor saw anything to shake confidence in their sincerity. So satisfied was he that a field for successful missionary effort existed among them that, after reporting to Governor Montmagny, whom he met at Fort Richelieu, he returned with a lay brother, La Lande, to the Mohawk country. His Algonquin guides, anticipating trouble, deserted, but, nothing daunted, the two brave and devoted men tramped through the forest until they reached an Iroquois village. There, without any ostensible reason, they were seized, stripped, gagged, exposed to every contumely, moved from place to place, and finally killed. The horrible war had thus broken out afresh with greater animosity than ever. The Governor and his priestly advisers seem to have put more faith in the promises of the Iroquois than either their Indian allies or the colonists, for Montmagny had withdrawn nearly the whole garrison from Fort Richelieu, and Father Lalemant, now Superior, had gone into raptures over the fact that the Iroquois and Algonquins were hunting the moose together north of the St. Lawrence. The Algonquins did not share his enthusiasm or his confidence. The first breach of the peace was made by some of the Senecas, who, prowling around a Huron bourgade, could not resist the temptation, when all were asleep, of scaling the palisade and killing one man and scalping another. Reprisals at once of course followed.

In all probability the renewal of hostility by the Mohawks was due to superstitious impulse. A strange epidemic had broken out in the tribe and carried off many of its members. The summer of peace had unfortunately been remarkable for a bad harvest and a plague of insects, closely followed by famine and disease. A number of Hurons who had not yielded to the influence of the missionaries, but were still

wedded to their ancient superstitions, had been incorporated into the tribe, and these told of the spread of disease and all the woes which had followed the advent of the Black Robes and the acceptance of Christianity by their tribesmen. Father Jogues had left a small valise in his lodge. This was regarded as a veritable Pandora box, and caused the most abject terror. The Governor and the priests had been warned that it would be unsafe to proselytize among the Iroquois; and, on his previous visit as an ambassador, Jogues is said not to have worn his soutane, and to have forborne preaching the tenets of Christianity. On his return with the avowed purpose of persuading the Iroquois to accept the gospel and repudiate their medicine men, his reward was martyrdom. In this case, as often since, the preaching that was meant to bring peace brought a sword.

The treaty of peace and the temporary security of the Nipissing and Ottawa route made the season of 1645 a prosperous one. The prosperity, however, was short-lived, for the treaty between the company and the habitants, though it promised great things, was really productive of more heartburning and dissension than profit to the people at large. We have seen that, at the outset, there was misunderstanding as to the purpose of the treaty and the extent of its provisions. Then a question was raised as to the relation of the Jesuit Fathers to the new company, and this had hardly been settled when a revolt in Quebec arose against Mons. Noël Juchereau de Chastelet, the general manager of the local company. Certain leaders of the people, —whether self-constituted or elected, is uncertain—got up an agitation in January, 1646, against de Chastelet himself, charging him with riotous living and neglect of their interests. To please such an ill-assorted body of traders as those composing the new company must have been as difficult a task as it would be to satisfy a communistic society. Mons. Robineau, attached to the Governor's household, was one of the ringleaders, and gave his Excellency a warrant for taking severe measures against the malcontents. The agitation subsided under coercive treatment, and owing to the impossibility of securing united action on the part of a scattered population, destitute of political organization, and

without any real community of interest. The result was inevitable, for the majority of the population were under the influence of the priests; and they, on principle, opposed any revolt against constituted authority. They may, besides, have considered this agitation as a protest against the settlement arrived at through their arbitration in the September previous.

Though the rebellious movement had been suppressed for the moment, the spirit of revolt had been excited, not only against trade monopoly, but against political nonentity. The agitation soon bore fruit. The summer of 1646 was profitable. Eighty canoes arrived at the trading post of Three Rivers, and Father Lalemant says that the share of the people's company was 160 poinçons of beaver skins as against 98 of the year before. The poinçon weighed 200 pounds, and the value per pound was ten peltries. But no one was satisfied. Those who acted as managers for the company wanted higher pay, and could not obtain it. The Jesuits considered that the 1,200 francs allowed them for each of their missions of Quebec, Three Rivers and the Georgian Bay was insufficient. Finally, all who were not directly employed by the new company, or who derived no benefit from it, were its avowed and open enemies. The only remedy seemed to lie in an appeal for a revision of the treaty, and also for some measure of representative government for the people of the colony. To secure these ends an influential delegation sailed with the fleet on the first of October. Father Quentin went to advocate the rights and interests of his order. The others were Robert Hache, M. de Maisonneuve, M. Giffard and M. Tronquet, each probably viewing the situation from his own standpoint, but all alike anxious for some betterment of existing conditions. With the sailing of the fleet darkness, as regards news, settles down on the colony.

An event occurred this year (1646) which was destined to have results beyond what could then be foreseen. An alliance was concluded with three of the Algonquin tribes occupying the forests between the St. Lawrence and the seaboard to the south, the Kanibas, the Etchemins, and the Micmacs. They sought the assistance of France against the Iroquois, and against a still more aggressive foe, the colonists of New

England. They had already learned some of the rudiments of Christianity from Capuchin monks, who had established a mission on the headwaters of the Kennebec. They soon became docile pupils of the Jesuits, who in time converted the whole of the tribes, and brought them so completely under their influence that they became a powerful and serviceable fighting force against the inhabitants of the adjacent English colonies. Quebec was their rallying point, and their trade therefore, whatever it amounted to, was tributary to Quebec. As spiritual adviser of this new native confederation, and at the same time as a diplomatic agent—for his double mission was to convert the tribes and consolidate them as allies into a political confederacy—an extremely capable man was appointed in the person of Father Gabriel Druillettes. We shall meet him again as ambassador from the Governor of Canada to Winthrop, the Governor of Massachusetts.

During the following winter the people of Quebec needed all the cheer they could get from favorable facts or hopeful fancies, for the gloom of impending calamity filled every heart, however bravely—like cheerful French folk that they were—they might be able to face trouble with a laugh or a *bon mot*. In the June following (1647) the news reached Quebec of the death of Father Jogues, which had occurred in October of the previous year. All hope of peace with the Iroquois, it was clearly seen, had to be abandoned. Nevertheless, during that summer no very atrocious acts of hostility, compared at least with what followed, were perpetrated by that nation. They burned Fort Richelieu, which in overconfidence had been abandoned the previous autumn; and they commenced their campaign of annihilation by selecting for their first victims the Algonquin tribes of the Ottawa. The anxiety of the colonists would have been insupportable, had they not been encouraged by the hope that their delegates would succeed in securing some slight measure of self-government from the home authorities, and that this might place it in their power to provide for their own protection. On the 23rd of June the first ships arrived, and must have brought news of the negotiation, and probably of its result, though the regulations were not promulgated by the King in Coun-

cil until March 27th (1647), after the sailing of the ship. These were designed to protect the people against the officers of their own company no less than against the agents of the One Hundred Associates. Each of the three towns of Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal was to select a syndic who should hold office for three years. In this respect the Constitution simply confirmed the concession stated by some historians to have been made in 1645. These syndics and the admiral of the fleet were admitted to the Council to plead for their constituencies and the interests they represented, but were not allowed even a deliberative voice. The Council itself was composed of the Governor and—until a Bishop should be created—the Superior of the Jesuits' house in Quebec, together with the Governor of the Island of Montreal. In the absence of the Governor and the Governor of Montreal, their lieutenants were to represent them. The Council was ordered to meet in the Company's warehouse (*la maison commune où est establi le magasin de Quebecq.*)* The Council had the right to appoint the Admiral, Captain, and other officers of the trading fleet; but no elected member of Council or official might hold office for more than three years. The Council also had the right to audit the company's accounts, and to fix the prices of all articles bought or used in bartering. The *habitants* were permitted to exchange their farm products with the Indians for furs, but all peltries had still to be turned in to the company's store at a price determined by the Council. Only the company's ships might enter the river, and their cargoes must be sold in France. From the proceeds of the sale in France the following deductions were to be made: 25,000 francs for the payment of the Governor and the civil officers of Quebec and Three Rivers, the officers and soldiers, and for feeding the little army of seventy men; 10,000 francs for maintaining the civil and military establishment of Montreal, and 5,000 francs for the support of the Jesuit establishment. The budget was certainly not an extravagant one; but as, in addition to the payment of these 40,000 francs, the company's stores and officials

*The full text of this first constitutional charter of New France is given in the "Revue Canadienne," Montréal, 1894, page 353.

in Canada and in France, and the whole fleet of ships, had to be maintained, the revenue from furs, especially in time of war, or in bad seasons, when the supply was short, must necessarily have been small. Hence the temptation to smuggle. And that smuggling was rife is curiously illustrated by an entry in the Jesuits' Journal, of the 19th of the month following the promulgation of the new regulation. The treatment of the fur trade at Sillery, we thus discover, had assumed the proportions of a case of conscience, which had been gravely deliberated by the Superior, Father Lalemant, and his two predecessors in office, Fathers le Jeune and Vimont. It was open to doubt whether furs should be made an object of traffic at any establishment supported for essentially religious and missionary purposes. But as it was distinctly conducive to the popularity and the success of the mission that it should be a market for peltries, it was determined to permit the trade. Then the question arose whether all the furs so purchased had to pass through the company's store. The regulations required it, but—the Company was not always liberal in its scale of payment. The decision come to on this knotty point was: First, that if the store would offer reasonable prices, those who bought these furs were in conscience bound not to divert them elsewhere (that could only mean not to smuggle them out of the country). Secondly, if the store were unreasonable, then one might practice deception with a good conscience or without incurring sin ("dissimuler en conscience"), inasmuch as the people had a natural right, and permission from the King, to engage in trade. Thirdly, whether reasonable or not, the Jesuits must not engage in trade.

A month before this 260 pounds of beaver skins had been seized in the chamber of Mons. le Prieur, the chaplain of the Ursulines. He had made no secret of his having them, and openly boasted he would not sell them to the store unless at a good price. This the store declined to pay. They were therefore confiscated. It is consequently evident that the only alternative to selling to the store at the authorized prices was smuggling. Channels for smuggling had been opened years before, to evade the trading prohibition of the old company, and these had been kept open by the *habitants*, who wished to escape the im-

posts laid on their goods by the new company. The colonists had in reality profited little by the change. The old company retained all their seignorial rights, so that free land was forbidden them, and now trade was oppressed by so many burdens that it availed them little or nothing. Instead of being the prey of the company of New France, they were the victims of their own officials, and there was little to choose between them, as the sequel showed. One trading company was load enough for any struggling colony to support. Two proved insupportable.

The same ships which brought the news of the deliberations brought also the first horse imported into Canada. It was a present from the people to their Governor. The two longest roads or trails were to Sillery, even then known as the Grande Allée, and that following the present Ste. Geneviève hill to the Jesuits' house of Notre Dames des Anges. Oxen and cows had probably been used as beasts of burden on such narrow trails, for the horse was not introduced into Canada for nearly thirty years after the establishment of the colony; but so great a favorite with the inhabitants did the nobler animal become, that it was propagated to the detriment of the more profitable horned cattle. When for two years prior to the siege of Quebec, in 1759, famine threatened the inhabitants, Montcalm said that horse flesh was eaten at his table in every form, with the exception of horse soup. Bigot reported that it was to the interest of the colony to slaughter 3,000 horses, instead of that number of horned cattle.

Impatient to exercise their limited functions of government, the people of Quebec sent a deputation to the Governor on the 29th of June, asking permission to elect their syndics; but, as the formal order in Council had not been received, the request was refused. It was not until the 21st of July that they were allowed to elect their representatives. The choice of the citizens fell on Mons. Bourdon, whose first act was to request the Governor to assume control of the Company of the Inhabitants and relieve the directors and officers of that function. Evidently feeling ran high against their own board, for we find another deputation proceeding to France to solicit amelioration of the company's conditions. It consisted of Mons. d'Aillebout and Mons.

Maisonneuve, as partners in the Montreal company, and Mons. Noël Juchereau de Chastelet, the company's chief clerk. In the absence of the latter his post was conferred on Mons. Bourdon. De Chastelet never returned. Whether the dissatisfaction was due to actual maladministration, or to disappointment at the meagre results of a change from which so much had been hoped, it is impossible to determine. If the Company of the One Hundred Associates could not make money, there is no reason to suppose that the *habitants'* company fared better, encumbered as it was, not only with the administrative charges incident to its own maintenance, but also with what may be called an excise for the support of the colony. The incentive to individual energy which individual profit supplies was lacking. Remedy after remedy was applied as one after another failed, but never the only remedy which could have made the city prosperous—that of committing to the inhabitants, as free men, the right of each to think for himself and act for himself, within the limits of respect for what was due to others.

As the summer advanced the depredations of the Iroquois became so menacing that grave anxiety was felt for the safety of Sillery; and the half Christianized Indians could not be restrained from venting their rage on the few captives they made, according to their immemorial usage. Montmagny was sorely perplexed. Either he had to tolerate customs of hideous barbarity or lose control of his fickle allies in a crisis when their defection might be fatal. When, early in September, the Sillery warriors brought in an Iroquois captive, he claimed him, and for more than a week protected him from their fiendish hands, but at length was constrained to hand him over to his tormentors, who, by way of compromise, cut short his agony after one hour's torture. The Jesuit Fathers, who did what they could to mitigate his suffering, had the satisfaction of baptizing the poor fellow, thus horribly executed in a manner most repulsive to their principles—for there had never been a stain of Dominicanism on their milder system, however absolute it was in matters of faith.

With Indians lurking at every commanding point on the Ottawa route, few furs were coming to the *habitant* warehouse, and

yet the new company was bound to support both the State and the Church. The revenues of the old company from the Saguenay country must have been more scanty still. It was a dreary winter, therefore, that of 1647-1648. The air was full of alarming rumors, and the situation fraught with much real danger; but no heart fainted while there were men of heroic mould, like Chastillon, willing to face all the dangers of a journey through a country infested by Iroquois to carry the Governor's message of hope and encouragement to the Hurons on the far distant Georgian Bay. The slight reliance to be put on Algonquin bravery was forcing itself very painfully on the minds of the colonists. Noël's band, for instance, started with the usual Indian ostentation and brag from Sillery in June, but returned with big words and no scalps in July. As Father Lalemant remarks, the very Iroquois prisoners laughed at these preparations for mimic war, which had also become a farce in the eyes of the French. Apprehension was therefore rife, though no one dreamt in his gloomiest moments of what was happening in the Huron country in that same summer, when the first act in the terrible drama of the extermination of the Hurons was being enacted, and the noble Father Daniel preferred to die as a martyr with his dusky flock rather than deprive them of his ministrations in their hour of supreme need.

The arrival of the fleet—the great event of the season to the Quebecer—brought several surprises. Mons. d'Aillebout had gone over the previous summer with Mons. de Chastelet, the *Commissaire-Général* of the inhabitants, to lay the grievances of the people before the Royal Council. Mons. d'Aillebout returned in command of the fleet, with his commission as Governor in place of the Sieur de Montmagny. De Repentigny had been deprived temporarily of the command as Admiral on account of the disapproval he had expressed of some of the new measures; but he was loyally returning in his own fleet as a passenger, when he died on the voyage. Thus two of the most prominent figures of these early days—de Chastelet and de Repentigny—disappear. D'Aillebout and de Chastelet had secured notable concessions, which, if they had been literally and liberally carried into execu-

tion, would have mitigated the hardships of the people. The syndics were now empowered to vote, whereas previously they were merely consultatory members. The company's contribution to the Governor's salary was reduced to 10,000 francs, and it was not obliged to maintain more than twelve soldiers for the defense of Quebec. The Governors of Montreal and Three Rivers were to be paid 3,000 francs each, and the company was to support six soldiers in each of these towns. But the 19,000 francs thus deducted for services was to be expended in a flying column of forty men, destined for the protection of weak points and also to serve as escort for volunteer traders to the Huron country. The edict in fact constituted a Charter of Rights, conferring on the Council the power of regulating trade, of declaring war and making peace, of establishing courts of justice, and organizing a police force. But it did not abolish the landed privileges of the old company, nor did it introduce or suggest the machinery for rendering the privileges it conferred operative. The provisions made for the military protection of the colony, and of its helpless allies, from the depredations of the thousands of Iroquois braves, armed, in even greater numbers than formerly, with arquebuses, were ludicrously insufficient; and trade was not relieved from the insupportable restrictions dictated by the parsimonious policy of the mother country, which expected to build up a thriving colony without incurring any expense.

The recall of the Chevalier Montmagny, who had been re-appointed Governor in 1645, at a salary of 3,000 livres, was a great surprise. In the short interval the policy of the home government is said to have been changed by the refusal of de Poince, Governor of the French West India Islands, to resign his appointment when ordered home. It was then decided to reduce all gubernatorial appointments to three years, and de Montmagny was one of the first to be brought under the rule.

His administration had been a failure, if judged by the progress of the colony. The most energetic of Governors would have been crippled by the position in which he was placed of subserviency to a commercial company, which would neither do anything itself, nor permit anyone else to do

anything; yet we do not learn that Montmagny complained. He was a Knight of Malta, and therefore under ecclesiastical vows, as was also the Lieutenant-Governor, Mons. de l'Isle. The Jesuit Fathers were his devoted associates and counsellors. He was avowedly actuated by an ardent zeal for the conversion of the natives, and it is not impossible that the welfare of the colony—in a commercial or mercantile sense—was inferior in importance, in his estimation, to the evangelization of the aborigines. As this was ostensibly the prime object which the Crown of France had kept in view from the time of Francis I. onward, Montmagny can hardly be blamed for acting up to the letter of his instructions. He was active and pains-taking, answering promptly every summons to the point of danger, but he was not keen in pushing commerce. Olivier, the forerunner of that wonderful band of Canadian explorers who penetrated to the recesses of the northern half of the continent generations before any English-speaking men attempted to follow in their footsteps, had sighted Lake Superior, but his story of that inland sea fell on deaf ears.* The range of the Governor's activity was almost confined to the river between Quebec and Montreal. With the small white force at his command, he may well have been cowed by the overwhelming power of the Iroquois. But if he could not defend himself and his allies, five hundred miles away on the Georgian Bay, his true course would have been to draw them in, to concentrate his forces, and oppose a bold face to the insulting Iroquois challenge. The French alliance with the Hurons and their acceptance of Christianity, which made all hope of future amalgamation with the Confederacy impossible, were the aggravating causes of a war in conducting which he displayed neither energy as a general nor shrewdness as a politician. He was neither a Champlain nor a Frontenac. He lacked the enthusiasm, the eager activity and personal initiative which impelled Champlain to take the field, and which won for him the honor of being the first white man to explore Lake Champlain and to cleave the waters of Lakes Huron and Ontario. More-

*The poor fellow was drowned near Sillery, for, like many others who have exposed themselves to danger in their explorations by water, he could not swim.

over, when Champlain was dissatisfied with the conduct of the colonial officers in France, he went thither to argue his case in person. Had Frontenac been in Montmagny's place, his military instinct would have driven him to devise some plan for using the whole military strength of the Huron nation for their own protection and that of the colonists. Montmagny's deplorable trustfulness, or irresolution, resulted in the extermination of the Hurons and in dwarfing and arresting the growth of the colony. The lethargy of the company, due in great measure to their insolvency, was no doubt primarily responsible for the moribund condition of the colony. But a man of more resources would either have compelled the government of France and the company to fulfil their obligations, or taken some steps to organize the fighting material, white and Indian, within his reach for the purpose of checking the common foe. At that time the Hurons were still a powerful tribe of undoubted bravery. Armed with guns, they would have been a match, with the aid of the colonists, for the Iroquois. The Jesuits estimated their number at over 30,000, which would have given them at least 4,000 warriors. When rescued from the Georgian Bay they were a trembling, dispirited remnant, worthless as fighting material.

The most valuable work Montmagny did was in effecting an alliance with the Algonquin tribes lying between the St. Lawrence and Acadia and Maine, and welding them into a political unit to be used in opposing Iroquois aggression and New England expansion. This was a wise and long-sighted move, which he was enabled successfully to make through the agency of his ecclesiastical coadjutors. The political assistance of the Jesuits was never used in Canada to greater advantage than in thus raising, without any ostensible hostility of purpose, a bulwark against the advance of the English towards the St. Lawrence. It proved almost as insurmountable as that which the Iroquois alliance with the Dutch and English presented against any encroachment of the French to the east of Lakes Ontario and Erie. In these events, and in the narrow field of Canadian politics, we can more clearly detect the strong and the weak points of ecclesiastical statecraft, and trace more distinctly the results of the

confusion of things spiritual and things temporal in the history of Jesuitism than would be possible in the more involved drama of European intrigue.

The Iroquois war and financial stagnation combined to arrest immigration. Only nineteen families are known to have immigrated during the four years prior to Montmagny's removal. Sulte gives a list, which he considers approximately correct, of 120 heads of families, as constituting the entire population of Canada in 1645. The number is small, but they came from the best stock of the very best provinces of northern France; every man brought his helpmate with him, and not a girl of marriageable age remained a spinster in the colony.

CHAPTER XIV.

Governor d'Aillebout's Administration and the Negotiation for a Reciprocity Treaty with New England.

It may not have been a coincidence that the dismissal of Montmagny and his replacement as Governor by Monsieur d'Aillebout, after the appointment had been offered, and, so rumor said, refused by Maisonneuve himself, followed close on visits by both the leaders of the Montreal colony to France, but there is nothing in the transaction, or in the known character of Maisonneuve, to warrant a suspicion of intrigue. He doubtless believed that the safety of the colony was involved in the maintenance of Montreal, whereas from the first Montmagny had opposed the establishment of the Montreal colony, giving as his reason that the forces at his disposal for repelling the Iroquois were small, and that he thought it wiser to concentrate than to scatter. Three Rivers was a vulnerable point. Whether wisely or not, we have seen that he abandoned the fort at the mouth of the Richelieu. When Maisonneuve arrived in the autumn of 1640 trouble was already brewing. Montmagny, who was aware of the fact, did his best to persuade him to establish an Indian mission near Quebec, offering him the Island of Orleans in lieu of the Island of Montreal, but to no purpose. The ostensible reason for the recall of Montmagny was the necessity of complying with the rule fixing the gubernatorial term of office at three years; yet he had been reappointed under this rule in 1645.

Calamity so terrible soon overtook the colony, that the kind-hearted Knight of Malta, in his retirement in France, must have pitied his unfortunate successor, though he was too true a soldier to rejoice in his escape either from danger or from responsibility. His retirement from the stage of active life was so complete that history never again gives us a clear glimpse of the man who, if he did not frame the policy under which New France was to be



Portrait supposed to be of M. Louis d'Aillebout.
By the kind permission of Col. Norman Neilson.

governed, was the agent who put that policy first into motion, and who transmitted the Indian equivalent of his name—Onontio—(*Anglice*, Great Mountain)—to his successors.

During d'Aillebout's term of office, which extended to 1651, events were not conducive to the growth of the town or of the colony. Three incidents, however, rendered his administration memorable. These were: First, the inauguration of the more liberal constitution which he brought out in his portfolio. Secondly, the tragedy on the Georgian Bay, which resulted in the extermination of the Hurons as a powerful nation, and the transplanting of the small remnant to Quebec. Thirdly, the continuation of the negotiation with New England for a commercial treaty, and an offensive and a defensive alliance against the Iroquois, which had been inaugurated by Montmagny.

The new constitution did not enlarge to any notable extent the prerogatives already enjoyed by the people. The Council of 1647 was composed of the Governor, the Superior of the Jesuits or the Bishop, and the Governor of Montreal, with, as active members, the Governor of the Fleet and the syndics of Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal. The new Council of 1648 was composed of the Governor, the Superior of the Jesuits or the Bishop, the ex-Governor of the Colony, and in his absence an inhabitant to be chosen by the colonists; two inhabitants, to hold office for three years, to be chosen by the Council and the syndics of Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal. The two popular representatives and the substitute for the ex-Governor, in the first Council, were the Sieurs Chavigny, Godefroy and Giffard, all three men of note and of property. If d'Aillebout really solicited the appointment of Governor when he went to France, as one of the delegates sent by the colonists to plead for reform, he was disinterested in procuring a reduction of the Governor's salary to 10,000 livres, and of his free freight from 70 to 12 tons, and of his body-guard to twelve soldiers. Corresponding reductions, as we have seen, were made in the salaries and perquisites of the governors of Montreal and Three Rivers.

The diversion created by the arrival of the Governor and the promulgation of the new constitution, followed by the appearance

at Three Rivers, after two years' intermission, of two hundred and fifty Huron canoes, loaded with furs, encouraged people to believe that Montmagny's dread of the Iroquois War was an exaggerated apprehension. Ignorant of the designs of their foes, the Indian traders started back from Three Rivers, accompanied by some thirty French laymen and the Jesuit Fathers Bressani, Bonin, Greslon, Daron and Gabriel Lalemant. The last-mentioned was journeying straight to his death. Elated by a victory they had gained over a band of Iroquois which had attacked them at Three Rivers, the Hurons considered themselves invincible, and neglected the most ordinary precautions. The Iroquois, on the other hand, confident of their power, doomed the whole nation to extermination, and struck the first fatal blow on the 16th of the following March (1649), when the bourgade of St. Ignace was completely obliterated, all its inhabitants, together with Father Gabriel, being slaughtered. The next blow fell speedily on the neighboring mission of St. Louis. There two more martyrs, Brebeuf and Gabriel Lalemant, won the martyr's crown after suffering the most cruel tortures. But of all these terrible events; of the death of their dearest personal friends, and the destruction of their most cherished hopes of spreading the tenets of Christianity and the power of France, through the agency of the Huron nation, the Jesuit Fathers, at their headquarters in Quebec, were utterly ignorant until June 20, when the following brief entry occurs in Father Guillaume Lalemant's Journal: "During the night we received the sad news of the destruction of the Hurons and the martyrdom of the three fathers." Full details were brought by Father Bressani in September. The havoc wrought among the Hurons did not, however, entirely put a stop to trading, for with him were Huron and French traders, bringing 5,000 beaver skins, worth 26,000 francs. A French soldier and his brother, who had spent only one year in Huronia, returned loaded down with 747 pounds of beaver, worth four or five francs the pound. The incongruous mingling of tragedy and commerce has, however, not been confined to early American history.

Giving little thought to the peril impending over the Lake

country, society at Quebec in the winter of 1648-9 was gayer than usual, for the vice-regal court was at last presided over by a lady—Madame d'Aillebout. Her sister, Madame Philippine du Boulanque, had accompanied her from Montreal, but at once entered the Ursuline convent as a novice. The Governor's wife, though as devoutly disposed towards a religious life as her sister, could not take the vows unless her husband also entered a monastery. She therefore waited until his death in 1660 before trying the experiment. After a short novitiate she abandoned it; nevertheless she was proof, so rumor says, against the matrimonial attacks of two subsequent governors. We can picture her to ourselves as one of those charming, lively, sympathetic women who can be sincerely and actively religious without being austere, and gay without being frivolous.

Quebec certainly needed all the consolation and courage which religion, the sanguine, happy temperament of the Governor's wife, and the natural lightheartedness of its people, could impart to support it through the trials of the next two years; for the policy of revenge and extermination was pursued by the Iroquois with relentless fury and untiring vigilance. In the autumn of 1649 Father Charles Garnier preferred to die with his converts, rather than escape from the bourgade of St. Jean, which was attacked and destroyed when its warriors were absent. Another martyr had still to be added to the list. Father Chabanel was Father Garnier's colleague in the St. Jean mission, and was on his way with a band of Hurons to the Sault Ste. Marie. Fearing at night the approach of an enemy, his Huron companions fled more rapidly than he could follow. He was supposed at first to have perished from cold and hunger in the forest, but subsequently a Huron took credit for having killed him in revenge for the untold misery his order had brought upon his nation. On the other hand, it is a most pathetic proof of the depth of conviction with which the Christian teachings of the Jesuit Fathers had imbued their converts, that they did not one and all adopt this superstitious explanation of their calamities, and, by ridding themselves, in the same summary manner, of the supposed evil influence, make a bid for the favor of

their persecutors. There is, in fact, no positive proof that Father Chabanel did thus meet his death, and it is certain that none other of the missionary band received aught else than protection and reverence at the hands of the unhappy fugitives.

Some of the Hurons sought refuge with friendly tribes; some surrendered, and were incorporated into the families of their conquerors; others escaped in small parties to the St. Lawrence and joined the one band which retained any semblance of national identity, being thus brought into close relation with the city of Quebec. The Jesuits of St. Mary, when the defence of that mission became clearly impossible, induced their converts and the forty *séculaires*—servants who had pledged themselves, without taking vows, to serve for life in menial occupations without pay—to seek safety on the Island of St. Joseph, now called Christian Island. There famine and disease threatened to complete the work of the Iroquois tomahawks. In despair they prayed Father Ragueneau to lead them to Quebec. He consented, and with as little delay and as profound secrecy and silence as possible, the members of the mission and three hundred Huron Christians started on their dreary pilgrimage of nearly a thousand miles by forest trail, lake and river. Only three hundred!—and yet Father Ragueneau states that during the previous year he and his fellow priests baptized more than three thousand Indians. Ten years previously the country contained from eight to ten thousand Hurons—one estimate mentions 20,000—and this was the remnant! Once, on their perilous march, the advance guard fell back and reported that they had heard sounds and seen traces of human beings. These proved to be Father Bressani with twenty Indians and forty plucky colonists, hastening to the relief of their fellow countrymen and Indian allies. There remained none to whom human hand could render help on the once populous and happy shores of the Georgian Bay; the relief party, therefore, joined the fugitives, thus composing a force too strong to be safely attacked—for no warriors calculate chances more accurately than Indian braves, and none are so averse to attacking against odds. After fifty days of toilsome journeying they reached what they might with confidence





The first Ursuline Convent, burnt in 1650.
Madame de la Peltrie's house is in the foreground.
From an old painting in the Ursuline Convent.
Reproduced from *Glimpses of a Monastery*.

have supposed would be their haven of refuge—Quebec. They numbered more than their hosts. Some were received at the Hôtel Dieu. The Ursulines threw their convent open to the girls and women. The wealthier families undertook to support each an Indian family; but, after all the fountains of local charity had been exhausted, two hundred starving creatures were left to the kindly care of the Jesuits, whose hands, though nearly empty, were still held forth to help them. Heavy as was the drain which the hungry, helpless, famine-stricken fugitives made on their scanty resources, they had to prepare, ere winter set in, for the probable advent of some three hundred more—the remnant of the race—who, it was hoped, would succeed in eluding the snares laid for them by their relentless enemies.

The third event of note in Governor d'Aillebout's administration was Father Druillettes' mission to New England.

It has already been mentioned that in 1645 M. de Montmagny made a shrewd move, in enlisting in the interest of the French, the Algonquin tribes settled along the frontier of New England. They had received the rudiments of Christianity from some Capuchin monks, who were dwelling among them; but the Superior of the Jesuits selected for their spiritual guide Father Druillettes. He was a man of very varied abilities. As a missionary to the Algonquin tribes, occupying the country drained by the Chaudière River, now in the province of Quebec, and the northern portions of the present State of Maine, he won them over so effectually to Christianity that whole tribes became forever obedient servants of the Church and vassals of the Crown of France. His talents were recognized by the authorities, and when an ambassador was required to negotiate with the colonies of Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth an offensive and defensive alliance against the Iroquois, with the tempting bait of a reciprocity treaty of trade thrown in, he was the man chosen. He acquitted himself so dexterously in this delicate situation, and managed the negotiations with such diplomatic temper, that he was twice received in his official capacity by Deputy Governor Dudley, though the laws of the colony exposed him to arrest as a Jesuit; and so cultivated was he as a scholar and

theologian that, despite their antagonistic views, he became the welcome guest of Eliot, the Puritan missionary to the Indians.

When we find men, not only of such ability, but of such intellectual attainments, forsaking the refinements of society and condemning themselves to lives of physical hardship, and, worse still, of intellectual and social banishment among a starving, wandering and debased tribe like the Abenaki Indians, we obtain a gauge by which to measure the devotion that animated them. To a man of Father Druillettes' breadth of mind and education placed in such circumstances, the commission to act as political agent in an important negotiation must have been peculiarly agreeable. The zest and ability with which he executed the commission explains the tendency of the Jesuit Order to make of its members both politicians and priests. Men of such marked ability, such profound learning and such knowledge of the world—qualities which, as a body, they alone among the regular clergy possessed—would possess peculiar adaptation for political functions. It must be remembered that the line of demarcation between the provinces of statecraft and religion was not in those days so well defined as it has since become in Protestant lands. The ministers of New England, when Father Druillettes went thither on his diplomatic mission, looked upon the direction of politics as one of their most sacred duties. That the domination of priests, in Canada, and of ministers in New England, led to very different results, does not do away with the fact that the right of the Church to control the State was then a fundamental axiom of the ecclesiastical policy of English Prelatists, of Puritans and of the Church of Rome.

The negotiations looking towards a reciprocity treaty between New France and New England seem to have been informally opened by New England, in either 1647 or 1648, during Montmagny's administration, but to have come to naught. It is not easy to conceive of any trade agreement by which advantage would be conferred on English colonists, meeting with the approval of the government of France. The only article exported by New France was furs, and for these New England would at any time have offered a better market than France, under the restrictions which the laws of the colony imposed. This would have

been the strongest reason why Richelieu would never have consented to the diversion of that lucrative traffic to England through English colonies. On the other hand, England, if consulted, would never have consented to her colonies importing French wines and French goods from Canada. The St. Lawrence always did carry on more or less of a contraband trade with New England, but no treaty was ever framed with a view of actually legitimising smuggling. That can best be done without a formal convention. As New England would doubtless have been able to carry on a profitable trade with the St. Lawrence, it is not surprising that the first proposal came from her. It does not appear that any response was made by the Government of New France.

When the negotiation was revived by Governor d'Aillebout, two years later, the Iroquois campaign of extermination, which was only a threat in 1648, had become a horrible reality. The French Governor and his Council were, therefore, warranted in thinking that the New England colonists might regard Iroquois success and the extension of Iroquois power with as much alarm as they themselves felt. To advocate a campaign against the common enemy was the prominent motive of Father Druilletes' first mission in 1649. As he was the apostle of the Montagnais, who were likely to be the next flock of Christian sheep to be devoured by those ravenous heathen wolves, it was fitting that the mission of seeking protection for his feeble converts should be committed to him. The negotiation of a commercial treaty does not seem to have been included in his formal instructions. He has left us a full account of the incidents of his mission, and one which throws a less sombre light on New England life than it is usually invested with by popular fancy.

He started as ambassador from Quebec on September 1st, without much pomp or circumstance, accompanied only by Noël Nega-hamet, an Indian chief from Sillery, though with properly authenticated credentials to the New England authorities. He ascended the Chaudière, and descended the Kennebec, which he spells Quenebec, until he reached Narantsouiat, a camp of the Abenakis. On the following day they paddled down to Coussinoc, where the town of Augusta now stands, the outpost of the English

settlements in that direction. The clerk in charge there was John Winslow, a brother of Edward Winslow, the agent of Massachusetts in England. Noël produced a packet of beaver skins as a present to the Governor, and introduced the mission with the usual oratory. John Winslow, who had heard of Father Druillettes' labors among the Abenakis of the St. Lawrence and Iroquois, greeted him with fervor as a fellow Christian, animated by the same desire as his own brother Edward to elevate the Indians. He made him his guest and accompanied him to Boston. The journey at that season was tedious. The party was obliged to go ten leagues by land in order to take ship at Marimitin (Merrymeeting). They did not reach Boston till the 8th of December. While coasting from the mouth of the Kennebec, the presence on board of the French priest was looked upon with the gravest suspicion by the New England fishermen. Acadia had not yet been taken for good and all by Cromwell, and the New England coast stood in constant dread of attack from that quarter. But no suspicion annoyed him in Boston. His coming had been announced, and Major Gebin (Major Gibbons) welcomed him to his house and gave him a key to a room where he could practice the rites of his religion without interruption. It seems that Major Gibbons was a great friend of La Tour, that eccentric adventurer, whose vicissitudes, including the defense of his fort (La Tour on the Nova Scotia coast) by his heroic wife, and her subsequent death, are amongst the romantic episodes of Canadian history. Driven away from Acadia by his relentless enemy, Charnisay, he had sought refuge at Quebec, of all places in the world, notwithstanding his taint of Calvinism, and had there been hospitably received. He had gone thence to Boston to enlist the aid of the colony in righting his wrong, a proceeding savoring somewhat of treason. But it would seem that his generous treatment in Quebec had so mitigated his animosity that, like Balaam, he blessed where he had gone to curse.*

* There must have been in La Tour's character a strange mixture of heroism, religious susceptibility, conviviality and calculating shrewdness, for after losing wife and all he had in the stubborn fight, he had the audacity to go to Quebec, where he won over the austere Catholic, Montmagny; then left in Boston such pleasant memories of good fellowship behind him, that the jolly Major was will-

On the 9th of December Major Gibbons introduced the priestly ambassador to Governor Dudley at Ragsbury (Roxbury). Dudley having examined his credentials, called a meeting of the City Fathers (magistrates) on the 13th. On that date Druillettes was entertained at a public dinner, and stated his case, as he describes it, "to the magistrate, a man deputed by the people, whom they called a representative." They discussed his proposal for an offensive and defensive alliance against the Iroquois in secret session. Then all adjourned to supper before they informed him that the matter was beyond their jurisdiction, and that, as ambassador of the Catechumens of the Kennebec, he must appeal to the Council of the colony of Plymouth (the Kennebec was in the Plymouth grant.) To Plymouth, therefore, he went, where he was received by one of the five farmers of Koussenac called Padis.*

William Brentford (Bradford) appointed the following day for an audience, and as it was Friday, in deference to his guest's religious scruples, entertained him at a fish dinner. He remained there until the 24th, in constant conference; but his account of the proceedings was embodied in a special report, which was not published, for the Jesuit authorities always maintained a discreet silence in regard to such matters.

On his journey back his hosts insisted on paying all expenses by the way. Reaching Ragsbury (Roxbury) at nightfall, he was the guest of a minister whom he calls Maître Heliot, who he says was teaching some Indians. Their converse was so pleasant that Eliot entreated him to tarry and spend the winter with him.† Evi-

ing to reciprocate even on the person of a Jesuit Father. He ended by cancelling all past differences with Charnisay by marrying his widow. Gibbons' connection with him, however, did not turn to his advantage, for he suffered heavy pecuniary loss through lending La Tour money on his St. John property, which was finally confiscated.

* William Paddy, one of the five merchants to whom the Kennebec trade was leased in 1649 for three years. Thwaite's Jesuits, Vol. 36, p. 241.

† The methods of evangelization adopted by the Jesuits and by Eliot were so widely different that the discussion by the two men of the subject, so dear to the hearts of both, was probably not only interesting but somewhat keenly controversial. How the Jesuits sought to win the Indians to Christianity and civilization is told in this history. On the other hand, the mere recital of the works translated by Eliot for the instruction of his converts expresses significantly the Puritan scheme for saving the souls of the red men. Baxter's "Call to the Unconverted" and Bayly's "Practice of Piety," translated into an Indian dialect, must have been as bewildering to the Wampanogas as his "Logick Primer" to the students at the Indian school at Natick.

dently these much-maligned New Englanders were not such bigots after all! In Boston he was again made free of Major Gibbons' house. He seems to have impressed very deeply a Mr. Ebeny (Wm. Hibbins?), one of the magistrates, with the justice of his plea. The Governor and Council of Plymouth must have held out some hope of favoring the alliance, or Governor Dudley, on parting, would not have shaken his hand heartily and begged him to carry his greetings to the French Governor at Quebec, and assure him that "let the two crowns wage what wars they will, we wish to be good friends and your humble servants." If Druillettes reports Dudley's farewell correctly, the Governor was not such a hater of popery as history depicts him. A vague promise would seem to have been understood as given for the passage of French troops, if necessary, through Boston in case of war; and both colonies are said by Druillettes at that time to have expressed themselves as favorable to an alliance.

Of course, no decisive action could be taken except by the Council of the four Confederated States of New England, which confederacy was at that period a living organization; and such action was not then sought. Before leaving, Father Druillettes wrote to his Superior in France by a Boston packet, detailing minutely all proceedings, and asking for instructions for his guidance, and for that of the French Governor, to be sent by the earliest fishing fleet to Gaspé. He also wrote to Edward Winslow, the Massachusetts agent in London, at the suggestion of his brother John, urging him to use his influence with the colony for the protection of the Montagnais Indians against the Iroquois. And knowing that the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven would have a voice in the final decision, he addressed a strong plea to John Winthrop at Pequott River, the Latin original of which has been found among the Winthrop papers.* His friend, Major Gibbons, however, had been gauging public opinion in Boston, and rather damped his hopes of acceptance of his proposal. The good Father had been long enough in the land to learn that the people held control. He calls the colony a Republic. On his re-

* John Winthrop was the son of the famous John Winthrop, by whom the negotiations with Montmagny were opened in 1646 and 1647.

turn in Capt. Yan's bark the good Father meets others whose names have become household words. Driven by stress of weather into Morblety (Marblehead) he is there entertained by the Rev. William Walter, who takes him over to Salem, and introduces him to Mr. Endicott. He found in Endicott a good French scholar, a sympathetic listener and a wise adviser. At Endicott's suggestion he wrote a memorial to be laid before the General Court of Boston. Endicott promised to present and advocate it. Like the apostles of old, the Jesuit missionary was travelling without purse or scrip, but Endicott supplied his needs, and he was not allowed to want for anything. In return he repaid his host by courtesy and good fellowship, and the benefit of his prayers; and he was able to settle with Capt. Yan for his passage by securing him permission to land a cargo of Indian corn in Gaspé Basin in the following Spring. Once on the Kennebec and among his own Indians he was again at home. On the 13th of April his friend, John Winslow, returned with the encouraging news that the disposition of the magistrates of both Boston and Plymouth was favorable; that private letters had been sent to the Governors of Connecticut and New Haven, with a view of influencing them to support the alliance, and that every effort was being made to prevent the sale of firearms to the Iroquois by the colonists of the Connecticut Valley.

Appended to the Journal are "Reflections touching what can be expected on the part of New England against the Iroquois." Judging from the businesslike way and the calm indifference to humanitarian dictates with which two Indian tribes had already been wiped out by the New England colonists, the Father concludes that they would have little compunction as to the extermination of the Iroquois. He calculates that Boston alone can put into the field four thousand fighting men, and that, as the male population of the New England Confederation is 40,000, there will be no difficulty in raising a force sufficient for the purpose. He thinks they can count on the support of three of the four colonies, when the vote for the alliance comes up in the House. He feels very con-

fidant of the adherence of Plymouth, inasmuch as its revenue is drawn in great measure from a duty of one-sixth on all the peltries brought down the Kennebec by the Abenakis; and as the Governor himself and four of the principal inhabitants are traders on the River, both public and private interests are enlisted in the protection of the Indians. The case is different with Connecticut and New Haven. Yet inasmuch as the Northern colonies helped Connecticut in the Pequod War, he thinks Connecticut will be willing to help them when their interests are concerned. As to Massachusetts, the bait to catch her will be the hope of trade with the St. Lawrence. Just then the wars in which Cromwell and the Commonwealth were engaged were likely to make the coasting trade with the Virginias and the West Indies very precarious. But Spain would not carry a naval war of reprisals into Northern latitudes; therefore, if the Boston traders were assured of access to the Kennebec, their sympathies would be enlisted in the good cause.

Father Druillettes did not go to Quebec to report in person till well on in June, but his written reports must have decided the Governor and the Superior of the Order to send him back with a lay delegate. The person selected was M. Godefroy, whom we have met as joint councillor with M. Giffard in the first council under the new constitution. We have no published journal of their faring; but Charlevoix publishes the letter of the Council of Quebec to the Commissioners of New England; and the minutes of Council of date June 20, 1651, as well as the Governor's commission, have been preserved. Father Druillettes' title of priest in the commission is omitted—he is judiciously called a preacher of the Gospel. These documents recite the fact that the New England colonies in 1647 opened a correspondence with the authorities of New France looking to mutual trade relations under certain restrictions. The two agents are authorized to discuss and frame a treaty for reciprocal trade, subject to confirmation by a duly appointed ambassador from France. Both sides, however, must have perfectly understood that no treaty which would benefit New England would ever be made by the Court of Versailles. The proffer of a commercial treaty was simply a lure

to the New England Council to join in the war of extermination against the Iroquois. All we know is from the Jesuit's Journal, namely, that the delegates left with Noël and a party of Abenakis in seven or eight canoes on June 22nd, that letters were received on August 15th from Father Druillettes, dated from his camping ground on the Kennebec (Kousenck) where they had arrived on July 3rd, and whence they were to depart for Boston on the 13th. Their journey, made in summer weather, was less tedious than had been the previous one of Father Druillettes; for on the 31st of July Noël arrived in Quebec with letters from the delegates written in Boston. M. Godefroy followed on October 30th, but Father Druillettes remained with his flock until the spring following, making the journey on snowshoes to Quebec, where he arrived on one of the last days of March.

The record of failure is told by Mr. Hutchinson in his "History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay," edition 1764, page 166, substantially as set forth in the French documents. It is to the effect that the treaty of commerce, which would have been acceptable, was coupled with a condition precedent that Massachusetts and Plymouth should either join the French in an offensive alliance against the Iroquois, or aid them financially, or at least grant their troops free passage through colonial territory. But, as the Iroquois had during the Pequod War been strictly neutral, and had never evinced an unfriendly spirit; and as the direct route from the St. Lawrence to the Mohawk country did not lead through either colony, the politic Puritans were not inclined to involve themselves in endless trouble, and accept in compensation only the uncertain advantages which might be derived from such a treaty of commerce as would be acceptable to the Court of Versailles. Consequently the courts of the two colonies politely declined the overture.

The Indian version of the failure given by Noël in a letter to Father Buteux is laconic and to the point. "I was sent to the country of the Abnaquiois and of the English, who are their neighbors, to ask them for assistance against the Iroquois. I obeyed those who sent me, but my journey was in vain. The Englishman replies not. He has no good thoughts for us. This grieves me

much. We see ourselves dying and being exterminated every day." (Thwaite, Vol. 37, Page 77.)

Thus ended the only serious attempt on the part of the English and French colonies to harmonize their Indian policies and their trade interests. Had the French colonists been as free to regulate their commercial relations as New England claimed to be, the negotiations might have resulted more favorably; for New York was still the Dutch colony of New Netherlands, and the Iroquois were really a threatening cloud hanging over the Connecticut Valley. But when the New Netherlands became New York, so that the Iroquois nations formed a buffer State between the English and French; and when the French began urging their Abenaki converts to take revenge on the English settlements for the depredations of the Iroquois on the St. Lawrence, all pretence of friendly feeling between French and English vanished. A century of hatred between these two groups of Christian colonists followed. They lived on the fringe of a great continent, which they should have joined in redeeming from barbarism; but, instead of uniting to civilize its savage inhabitants and teach them the arts of peace, they wasted their own energies and lives in sanguinary conflict.

CHAPTER XV.

Gleanings from Father Jérôme Lalemant's Contributions to the Journal des Jésuites, 1645 to 1650.

From 1645 to 1670, with two short gaps, we have a delightful record of contemporary events in a Journal kept by the Superior of the Jesuit Missions, who was also rector of the College. The Journal, of course, deals chiefly with ecclesiastical details, but as such things were of much more general interest in those days than they are now, the narrative does not distort, to any serious extent, the routine of the every day thoughts and actions of either laymen or clerics. It gives us glimpses of a native courtesy which smoothed the ruggedness of existence, and softened the asperities which it could not wholly banish from the little town. To laymen it is of interest to be admitted to some of the secrets and special interests of clerical life. Of these the Journal reveals not a few—some trivial, some of greater importance. It is not a matter of great moment to know how many candles were lighted during the *salut*; nor what attitude the Governor assumed in and out of church; but it is curious to note the very minute particularity with which the details of religious functions were arranged, and how, nevertheless, occasional errors occurred in the conduct of the services through ignorance, or neglect of careful rehearsal, and how blunders were made which introduced confusion into the most accurately planned processions. Such trifles are told side by side with events of importance, and all with such charming frankness and naturalness, that it is difficult to conceive that the same men wrote the Journal who indited from year to year the *Relations* with their everlasting stories about the angelic sweetness of the Indian converts; the holy raptures of some of the civil magnates of the colony; and the seraphic perfection of life and soul of certain members of the religious communities with whom the Fathers of the Society of Jesus were not in conflict.

These yearly reports aim too evidently at effect on the minds of the readers in France to whom they were addressed, and like all self-conscious literary efforts, are stiff and stilted, and lack the clear and vibrant ring of sincerity. The entries in the Journal, on the contrary, prove that the rigid discipline which the novice of the Society of Jesus underwent did not eradicate his individuality.*

In regard to the Jesuits generally, it may be said that the intimate contact with the world and its secular affairs, which the duties of many of them involved, counteracted the narrowing effect of their religious education, and created that extraordinarily

* Rochemonteix, the historian of the Jesuits in New France (Vol. I-15), frankly admits that "the Relations, as published, do not give an altogether true portrait of the features of New France. They show only the fairest and most consolatory side of society. The other is intentionally thrown into the shade, or, to speak more correctly, passed over in silence." It is history—but history only half told. The same high authority ascribes the origin of the Relations to the instructions given by St. Francis Xavier to the missionaries, Père Juan de Beira and Père Berzéé, to report to headquarters for publication such news as should bear witness to the Society's zeal and to the success which divine grace deigns to grant to its humble officers. He quotes also the significant caution given: "Nothing must appear which could give just offence to anyone; nothing but what shall at once inspire the reader with thoughts of God, His glory and the advancement of his service." The advice was good, and the Relations written by the missionaries in both hemispheres in accordance with this advice constitute memorable and interesting documents. Nevertheless, as the limitations laid down were strictly observed, the scope of the letters as historical records is correspondingly restricted, and their value proportionately reduced. They were intended to be, and were, arguments in glorification of the Society rather than faithful chronicles of contemporary events. Father Le Jeune, in 1635, warns his readers that he does not pretend to describe all that happens in Canada, but only such events as redound to the advance of the faith and the glory of God.

In addition to the Relations, and the Lettres Edifiantes, there were sent to their superiors by the members of the Society private, confidential letters, with descriptions and criticisms of events and public personages, which gave the heads of the Order more perfect knowledge of what was transpiring than even the Ministers of State could obtain from their own officials. It would have been as unwise and improper to publish these as it would be for any Government to print the confidential reports of their diplomatic agents.

Rochemonteix attributes the cessation, in 1673, of the publication of the Relations to the brief of Pope Clement X. forbidding the publication of missionary records, owing to the scandal among the religious orders growing out of the discussion of the Chinese Rites (that is, the recognition by the Jesuit missionaries of certain Chinese customs and beliefs as innocent, because not contrary to the essential doctrines of Christ). And thus it came about, among other misfortunes, that the narrative of the explorations, for example, of Father Marquette, which passed through the hands of Father d'Ablon, Superior of the Order in Canada, to the General of the Order in Rome, and the Provincial in France, was buried in oblivion.

composite character which has made the Jesuit priest the idol of some and the abomination of others—the astutest of politicians and the most devout of missionaries, with a tenacity of purpose and a blindness of submission to the orders of his superiors which have caused him to be profoundly dreaded and suspected as a political agent.

Father Lalemant made the first entry in the first volume of the *Journal* in August, 1645: the last entry in the third volume was made in 1775. Unfortunately the first volume alone is known to have survived. The three existed when the order was dissolved, and were still in the Jesuit Library when Father Cazot died in 1800. Their value was at once appreciated, for William Smith, in his *History of Canada*, published in the year 1815, referring to certain events that occurred in 1710, quotes from the third volume of the *Journal*. (See Smith, Vol. I, page 170.) The now surviving portion was found in Mr. Cochran's office at Quebec in 1815, and the missing volumes may peradventure yet be unearthed from some obscure hiding place. (See Introduction to Laverdière & Casgrain's edition.)

The *Journal* opens with some severe comments by Father Lalemant on the laxity of the military authorities. He had come down from the Huron country to assume the duties of Superior and take charge of the college, which was nearing completion. The welcome news greeted him that the company had abandoned its exclusive privileges, and that all the beaver skins which his Hurons had brought down would go to the inhabitants. As he passed the mouth of the Richelieu he found only ten soldiers in a neglected fort; de Sennetaire, the commandant, as well as Mons. Champflour, the commandant of Three Rivers, being on leave of absence in France. The reverend Father reflects that the St. Lawrence—not the Seine—was the proper place for the military guardians of the Canadian frontier.

However lax the military precautions and discipline may have been, the Father Superior found his own forces at their posts: four priests, with three servants, at Three Rivers; three priests, a brother and four men at Sillery; three priests, three brothers, and four serving men at Que-

bec. There were in addition at Quebec Father Quentin, the Procureur, who traveled annually to and fro between France and Quebec, and his assistant, Brother Liégeois. The serving men, who had assumed religious obligations to labor "for life" for the Order, received 100 livres a year. It was a magnificent organization, economically conducted. Other servants, however, were employed, who came under no perpetual obligations; for one of Father Lalemant's first acts was to employ a sailor—one Chrétiennaut—as cook and man of all work, for the Three Rivers mission, at 30 écus per year. He had come out in Repentigny's fleet, and turned out to be a very doubtful character. He had no "discharge," as he had left his ship because discontented. But he was not a deserter, for he entered the Jesuits' service six days before Repentigny's five ships sailed with the first cargoes, under the new arrangement, of 20,000 beaver skins consigned by the inhabitants, and 2,000 consigned by the company, worth one pistole, or 10 to 11 francs the pound. Poor Chrétiennaut evidently found the rule of the Fathers too straightlaced, for he left their service for that of the commandant of the Fort at Three Rivers. His habits, however, were too lax to be overlooked even by the military, for we last hear of him as "sur le chevalet où il se rompit"—astride the wooden horse, on which he ruptured himself.

The fathers were still temporary occupants of part of the Company's quarters, where they had been offered accommodations on the destruction of their own home and Champlain's chapel by fire in 1640. But the conveniences, even if given gratuitously, were not lavish, for Father Lalemant had to obtain permission to build an oven. Heretofore, he says, bread made of imported flour had been supplied at 15 sols by the company's store; but now that they had an oven of their own, better and cheaper bread could be made from native wheat. But clothes were scarcer than bread, for the seven loaves which the Fathers distributed on the occasion of the jubilee were exchanged by their recipients at the company store for boots and linen. There seem to have been many indigent French, for, of the Governor's gift of two pistoles, one was for the poor among his own countrymen, the other for the Sillery Indians. In addition the Lieutenant Governor was authorized to

distribute 200 francs' worth of food and clothing at the discretion of the Jesuit Fathers. Mention is made this year of the initiation of a local industry which has survived to this day—the sale of firewood. The price paid would seem not to have been excessive. If cut from land not owned by the wood chopper, it was delivered for 30 sols the cord; but at 2 livres, or 10 sols more, if from the seller's land. The difference, 10 sols the cord, was therefore the value of the wood. To heat their houses at Notre Dame des Anges, and their rooms in the Company's quarters, the Jesuits burnt two sleigh loads a day.

There was not only official but social intercourse among the religious communities. On December 5th the Father received an invitation to dine at the Ursuline convent, but was obliged to refuse, as it was the first Sunday in Advent, and he had to preach at the Hospital.

Cold and hunger did not quench religious enthusiasm, which the frequent recurrence of church festivals maintained at a high temperature. Midnight mass at Christmas was celebrated with a musical service. Mons. de la Ferté sang bass, Martin played the violin, and a nameless musician made discord with a German flute, though in the rehearsal he had succeeded in keeping time and tune. Another *contre-temps* was the failure of the sacristan to give the necessary signal for the salvo of artillery at the moment of the elevation. To add to their worry, the celebration nearly ended in a catastrophe. To heat the chapel, which was probably in the second story of the Company's house, two large boilers had been filled with charcoal, and should have been removed immediately after the ceremony. But in the excitement this precaution was neglected and the floor beneath them became ignited. The kitchen was beneath the chapel, and the cook, up betimes, busy with his Christmas functions, discovered the fire and succeeded in extinguishing it.

The Jubilee fêtes lasted till December 31st—the most impressive incident being the procession of more than 100 Indians from Sillery to perform their devotions at the Parish Church. But it was too much to expect that the festivities should end without some friction. Midnight mass, then as now, offered temptations to

the sinner as well as consolation to the saints. Two Frenchmen, up too late, were arrested for drunkenness. As the Indians drew invidious comparisons between the severity with which they were punished and the light chastisement inflicted on the French for like offences, the Governor condemned the culprits to be exposed *sur le chevalet*—on the wooden horse, in a bitter northeast wind. How they must have enjoyed a hot drink afterward! and doubtless the drink was forthcoming, for some at least of their fellow townsmen must have been boiling over with sympathetic indignation and ready to treat them.

Then there was a controversy as to procedure in the distribution of the *pain bénit*, which had always been a bone of contention. The Governor had received the *chanteau*, or last and smallest cake, which entitled him to supply it the following Sunday. The amount provided was in excess of the distribution, and it was decided that the two Marguillers—church wardens—who were the Seigneur Giffard and the new company's chief clerk, des Chastelets—should be the next recipients, and that what remained should be given to the people in the order of their houses from the head of the Côte St. Geneviève, which led down to the valley of the St. Charles.

A still more delicate question had to be settled by Father Lalemant before the year closed. Father Vimont, his predecessor, had given the sisters of the Ursulines and of the Hôtel Dieu a lease for six years, without rent, of the rich bottom lands on the Beauport Flats, between the Cabanne aux Topiers River and Giffard's seignory. Though the religious ladies were deserving of all consideration, this was a purely business transaction, and as a business man he was not inclined to confirm, though he did not disallow, so one-sided a bargain without due deliberation. In the first place, when Father Vimont gave the lease, though still filling the office of Superior, he had been notified that his successor had been appointed; secondly, the term of the lease was too long, and thirdly, some consideration should in fairness be paid. The negotiations ended in an exchange: only on consideration of receiving an equivalent, would the good ladies consent to abandon their leases.

1646.

Old France was revived in New France by that cordial inter-

change of visits and presents at New Year's which unfortunately is dying out, with many another good old custom. Father Lalemant forgot no one on the Jour de l'An. On January 1st the soldiers greeted the Governor by presenting arms, while the inhabitants in a body saluted him. His Excellency then at 7 a. m., though it was still dark, crossed the Place d'Armes, to salute, collectively and individually, the good Fathers. After grand mass the Superior returned the visit unannounced, as it was a day of general salutation. And the ladies of both communities sent their greetings to the priests by letters, that of the Ursulines accompanied by a present of candles, chaplets, a crucifix, and two big pigeon pies. In return Father Lalemant sent them enamelled images of St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier. To the church wardens the father gave books of devotion, relics and medals. Humbler friends were not forgotten. The washerwoman of the church received a crucifix. Mme. Martin was rejoiced by receiving four handkerchiefs, and her husband perhaps better pleased by a reminder in the shape of a bottle of brandy, for the Church, however opposed to excess, did not forbid good cheer. Robert Hache, one of the domestics *ad vitam*, was so pleased with the gift of two handkerchiefs that he asked for and received two more. The Superior then started on a round of visits, ending up with the ladies of the Ursulines and Madame de la Peltrie, whose presents he had forgotten to mention. To each of his fellow priests and the brothers he distributed something from his own little stock of treasures, nor did he forget those at Sillery.

These kindly remembrances did not cease on the first day of the month, for the Governor on the 3rd sent the good Fathers three capons and ten pigeons, and subsequently their larder was replenished by a cake and a well-cooked dinner from the Hôtel Dieu, and Mons. Giffard provided a bottle of hypocras, with which to wash down the good things. And when *les jours gras* came round, the ladies of the Ursuline and the Hôtel Dieu vied with one another in fortifying the Fathers for the fast which was impending, the severity of which, however, was somewhat mitigated by the thoughtfulness of the Governor, who never forgot to send

them fresh fish twice a week during Lent. They returned the compliment with two jars of olives.

The *pain bénit* became again a matter of controversy. Madame Marsolet, who was to make it for the Sunday before Septuagesima, presented it on napkins, and surmounted it with a cross of gauze. She wished in addition to decorate it with candles, but the Fathers thought this departure from simplicity smacked of vanity and ostentation, and might not only excite jealousy, but possibly give offence to His Excellency, who, when he provided the *pain bénit*, had not indulged in such extravagances. For these excellent reasons all the accessories were removed.

Questions of precedence were also rife, for on Candlemas Day the Fathers, wishing to show no preference, after sending a wax candle to the Governor, cut up their stock into 115 bits, and distributed them, without discrimination, together with the *pain bénit*. Though there was not enough to go round, no occasion was given for jealousy.

On March 16th the Chapel of the Hôtel Dieu was dedicated. On April 17th the river was free from ice, and shortly afterward the Father Superior ascended it to attend to his ecclesiastical duties at Three Rivers. On his return he notes the following catalogue of incidents, which all help to illustrate the lights and shadows of the picturesque life of the mixed population of zealous churchmen, reckless adventurers, and Indian savages.

Item.—The death of good Father Massé, and his burial at the scene of his labors at Sillery, where his bones repose to this day.*

Item.—A quarrel between an Iroquois and an Abenaki, which resulted in the Iroquois transfixing with a sword a squaw instead of his intended victim. The quarrel was accommodated in Indian fashion by the parents of the unfortunate woman.

Item.—A duel with swords between two servants of the Ursulines; results not stated.

Item.—Another duel between two soldiers at Three Rivers, which resulted in the wounding of La Groie and the imprisonment

* The foundations of the old Chapel of Sillery can be traced near a substantial stone house, on the beach, which was probably attached to the mission.

of his antagonist, La Fontaine, who was adjudged to be in the wrong on the testimony of an Indian. Duelling seems to have been a common practice, even with the rank and file of society; and it is noteworthy that an Indian's testimony was received as good, even against a Frenchman.

Item.—A fire destroyed Guillaume Bance's house, and all he had, but his neighbors came so liberally to his assistance that he was set firmly on his feet again. The Fathers gave permission to work on St. Barnabé's day to all who would help Bance to rebuild, and fifteen responded to the call.

Item.—The theft from a poor man's chest of all he had in the world, to the value of twenty-five écus. It was the first instance of petty thieving in the colony, and the Father deplored and rebuked it from the pulpit.

Item.—A certain Thomas, of Huguenot proclivities, abjured his errors and made profession of faith; and a Huron convert was baptized in the Ursuline chapel.

Item.—Brother Ambrose was told off from May 1st to 20th to make malt and brew beer for the House of Notre Dame des Anges; and to Brother Feauté and Robert Hache was assigned the pleasant duty of fishing on May 15th, but it was June 11th before the first salmon was caught.

The Fête Dieu was this year celebrated with more than usual devotion, and the account of the procession is given with much detail. The canopy was carried by M. Tronquet, nominated by the Governor, the two church wardens, M. Giffard and Chastelets, and an Indian convert, Noël Negabamat. Conspicuous figures were six French angels and two little Indians in native costume, carrying corporal cases. The torch bearers were drawn from the ranks of the six principal trades of the town—carpenters, masons, sailors, toolmakers, brewers and bakers. The farmers seem not to have been represented. The procession started, to the ringing of bells, from the temporary Parish Church in the Company's offices, situated somewhere to the east or west of Garden street, probably within the enclosure of the present English Cathedral. It crossed the open space and rested near "*The Tree*,"

where the host was saluted by a salvo of artillery.* Thence the procession moved to the Hôtel Dieu, the Hospitalières claiming a certain precedence over the Ursulines, as their Hospital building was by two whole years of greater age than the convent. It was saluted by a volley of musketry, as it passed behind the house of M. Couillard, which was probably near the present seminary gate. It may then have wended its way across Hope Hill, and through the Hospital's own grounds, which at that time covered nearly all the portion of the present town comprised within Hope, Fabrique and Palace streets, to its recently consecrated chapel. In returning, it rested at Mons. Couillard's altar, where it was saluted by musketry. In retracing its course to the Parish Church, it was again saluted by the cannon of the Fort; then it passed to the Ursuline Convent under an arch of a bridge, which is more than once mentioned as a feature of the Company's house. It was probably a covered way between two buildings, as we learn that the Jesuits, before trying to warm their chapel for Christmas midnight mass, experimented with braziers or stoves on this bridge. In 1640 the Governor sent a company of soldiers to salute the Fathers by a discharge of their arquebuses at the end of the bridge, which may then have only been in process of construction.

The Jesuit estates meanwhile grew and were judiciously cared for and cultivated, although the price of labor was high, that is to say, from thirty to thirty-five sols a day and board, as we gather from an entry in June. Father Lalemant was employing Etienne Bongoust as a millwright to assist in building a new mill, after clearing off what wood remained on their cow pasture on the Pointe aux Lièvres, the spit of land on which the Marine Hospital now stands. Where to erect the new mill was a mooted question, which had to be decided soon, as the old mill at the mission was falling to pieces. The society decided on exchang-

* "*The Tree*" was probably that magnificent elm which stood in the north-east corner of the Cathedral close, till about 1849, when it was blown down during a violent storm. Tradition said that under it Jacques Cartier held council with the Indians. A section of it was deposited in the museum of the Literary and Historical Society, but it was burned, with most of the Society's collection, in the Parliament Building in 1854.

ing six acres which they owned in the city for eighteen lying between the Vacherie (cow pasture) and the foot of Côte St. Geneviève, and somewhere on the latter property the new mill was built. But Montmagny would cede the land only *en roture*. This led the Superior to examine the titles under which the several concessions made to the society were held, and, to use his own words: "I found that those of our six hundred arpents of land at Three Rivers, granted in 1634, conferred a perfect title upon us without any charge, in full property and lordship, *ut rex concesserat concedentibus*. As regards the letters patent for the lands of Notre Dame des Anges, Beauport, and la Vacherie, dated 1637, I found no charge upon such concessions beyond the saying of a mass every year—with no other dues—and the acknowledgment of concession every twenty years; but there is no mention of any seignorial right. As for the titles to those of Isle aux Ruaux, they are also very good, and similar to that of Three Rivers. As for the Isle de Jésus, there is no deed on parchment; there is merely an extract from the proceedings of the General Assembly and a certificate of taking possession by Monsieur the Governor, which mentions a mandate he had received, in virtue whereof he so put us in possession, without mention of any condition.

"Those which were conceded to Monsieur Giffard, des Chastelets, etc., confer more seignorial rights, but are also subject to many more charges.

"The most disadvantageous are those of Sillery, which, being ours only by a transfer made by Monsieur Gant, are also subject to all the charges borne by him, and among others a rent of a denier an arpent.

"About this time, the Hospital nuns having—in consequence of what had been procured for them at the Long Point and at the Isle of Orleans—given up the document signed by Father Vimont, by which they had been granted some meadows on our lands for six years, Father Vimont notified the Ursulines that they would have to do the same. They found it hard to comply, and requested that, in case that were done—to wit, taking our meadows from them, in order to lease them—they should be preferred to others. The

conclusion was that, until they had been assured of what had been assigned to them at Long Point and on the Island of Orleans, we should reserve for them fifteen or sixteen arpents of land—which we should dispose of, when they should have received the above assurance—and should dispose of the others, there being still fifteen or sixteen arpents more to be granted. In all, from the (river) Cabanne-aux-Topiers to Monsieur Giffard's river, there are forty-seven arpents; seventeen are to be reserved for the farm at Beauport, and the remainder granted as above."

The social event of the summer was the marriage of Montpellier, who was both a soldier and a cobbler, to the daughter of Sevestre. At the dance a kind of ballet was performed by five of his comrades, but the Fathers expressed their disapproval. The salmon fishing was good that summer. A present of fish came from Tadousac, and the Governor's and their own catch numbered 200 up to the end of July.

On the fête day of St. Ignatius, the Governor wished to fire a salute on the celebration of the *ordinaire*, but as it was only a *fête de dévotion*, and not a *fête d'obligation*, and as the spring fleet had not arrived, though July was well nigh ended, the Fathers, with thoughtful consideration, declined His Excellency's offer, lest the salute should be supposed to announce the sighting of the fleet. The citizens had that summer to wait long for the ships, as the first one did not cast anchor till the 20th September, and the last on the 14th of October.

The Superior made his annual journey to Three Rivers in August, taking with him, among others, a mason, at 100 livres of wages a year. There he met Gilles Bacon, hurrying down to lay before the Governor the news of the discovery of gold and copper, and to confirm his story with specimens—the second representative of the great army of prospectors and promoters; Jacques Cartier, with his flakes of mica and his quartz crystals, having been the first.

This was the second year of the habitants' compromise with the Company of the One Hundred Associates. The people's company did a larger business than in the previous year, shipping 160 poinçons of beaver skins of 200 livres each, or 32,000 pounds, as

against 19,600 in 1645—the value being the same each year, 10 francs the livre.

The returning fleet had its full complement of passengers. The management of the popular company, notwithstanding that the shipment of furs so greatly exceeded that of the previous year, had led to very general discontent. And M. des Chastelets, the manager, came in for his full share of abuse. The Fathers had thought that the Governor's summary punishment of those who started the agitation in the previous January had completely allayed it, though he had done nothing towards removing the alleged grievances. They and he soon discovered their mistake, for now nearly every man of influence was bound for France to press a claim or lodge a complaint. Possibly the term *fripons*—rogues—which the Father applies to several of the most respectable of the grumblers, may have been deserved; but whether it was or not, it shows that feeling was running high in the colony.

The eel fishery had been prosperous—the catch amounting to 40,000, which sold at one-half an écu the hundred. Cord wood was selling at 100 sols, more than twice the price of 1645, so that few could afford to buy a whole cord at a time; and the Father complains that the half-cord really did not measure more than three feet (instead of four), and that the wood was bad at that. It is evident that every one was hard up and discontented, and inclined to put the worst construction on his neighbor's conduct, and that the Fathers themselves had not escaped the epidemic of captiousness.

The last day of the year was celebrated by a comedy played at the company's store in the presence of the Governor, and attended by several of the Fathers and some of the Indians; but the priests were not willing to sanction by their presence the *Mardi Gras* dance. Marrying and giving in marriage went on as usual, and there were some embarrassing cases of conscience and breaches of promise. One was that of an Indian girl, who had been educated by the Ursulines. She had been wooed by a French lad, and had promised to marry him, but when the engagement had to be fulfilled, she refused him in favor of a man of her own race.

1647.

It was a mild winter and spring set in early. Fires were seldom needed in the chapel during mass, and the wine froze only once in the chalice. But it was an anxious winter. Small bands of Iroquois hovered around, picking off Algonquin hunters who separated from their party; but the Fathers knew nothing of the fate of their colleague, Father Jogues, of whose cruel martyrdom they only heard on June the 5th. They were busy getting out, and hauling to its site, the lumber for their new college, for the foundation of which they began blasting before the frost was out of the ground.

An entry in the Journal of June, 1647, informs us that the ships brought out the first horse imported into the country, as a present from the people to their Governor.* They also brought news of the constitution under which the three towns of Montreal, Quebec and Three Rivers might appoint syndics, who should represent them in Council. The people were in greater haste to avail themselves of their freshly-acquired privileges than the Governor was to give his consent—notwithstanding the present of the horse. He had not been officially notified.

Considering the progress of the colony and the vocal resources at the command of the Church, the Jesuits decided to say high mass with proper accompaniments, instead of performing the holy office in the irregular way heretofore of necessity followed, which shocked new comers from Old France.

An entry in the same month of June tells of the seizure of 260 lbs. of beaver skins in the rooms of the Chaplain of the Ursulines. This evidently raised the question of their own right to trade, and of that of their parishioners at Sillery, which had become a trading post of some importance. They decided that it was not becoming that they should themselves engage in trade, but that the inhabitants of Sillery, in virtue of their natural rights, and the King's permission, might, if the store refused to pay a reasonable price for their peltries, trade on their own account.

*In June of the year previous the Governor, when negotiating with the Jesuit Fathers about the exchange of the eighteen acres in the St. Charles Valley for the six acres in the town, went to confer with the Brothers Liégeois—*sur sa monture*. What did he ride?

On the 28th July the old barn was set on fire by a careless smoker, and one of their servants was burned to death. As he was a confirmed drunkard and died without any signs of repentance, they buried him in unconsecrated ground.

In August came the official authority to form a colonial council, on which the Jesuits were to be represented by their Superior. Four of the Fathers held a deliberation as to whether it would be wise to accept the post and its responsibilities. The decision was in the affirmative.

It was a dull season, and trade was bad, as the Hurons did not venture to descend the Ottawa.

1648.

In February Father de Quen made a missionary journey along the Beauport and Beaupré beach to Cap Tourmente, returning by the Island of Orleans. He puts the population at 200, and the number of communicants at 140. There were evidently fewer families in proportion to bachelors than at a later period. And how rural was still the state of the city is indicated by the entry relating to the death and burial of Mme. Drouin in the same month of February. The road was so narrow that they could not convey the body to the cemetery on a sleigh—it had to be carried by two men.

There was the usual interchange of good things at Mardi Gras. Among the delicacies sent to the Fathers by the Governor was a quarter of moose meat. It is incidentally mentioned that four moose were killed, whence we may infer that they were not then very much more numerous than at present.

It was a busy winter, and there must have been work for all. Ten or twelve men were in the woods getting out lumber for the Jesuit College. A wing was being added to the Fort, and a parish church was under erection. Perhaps it was the abundance of work and money which accounted for four unfortunates being condemned to ride the wooden horse for drunkenness.

If the roads were narrow in winter, they were so muddy when the snow was melting that it was feared that the procession on the feast of St. Mark, April 25th, would have to be omitted. Finally it was deemed better to plod through the mud than not to honor the saint.

On the feast of St. Michael, May 7th, the Fathers celebrated vespers at their house of Notre Dame des Anges, and afterwards served a supper, observing most punctiliously the gradations of rank of their guests. The Governor and *les plus honnêtes gens* were regaled in the refectory. The musicians, who had assisted in the chapel, were served in the *petite salle*. For the sailors tables were set in the carpenter's shop, and the rest, including the soldiers, were accommodated in the large room. The Governor went to the service and the entertainment by boat, but, the tide having run down, he returned on foot. What had become of the horse?

On Rogation Sunday the procession was formed after vespers. It encircled the fields on Cape Diamond, and returned by the Grande Allée. As this was the festival when prayers are offered for a good harvest, and the bounds of the parish are beaten, or defined by the procession, we may assume that most of the houses were built on the slope above the present St. Louis Street, and that the ground now occupied by the Glacis—not then, of course, graded as at present—was cleared and under cultivation.

On St. John the Baptist's day the old custom of lighting the bonfire was practiced by Governor Montmagny, who always sent for the Fathers to assist in the ceremony. It was a curious custom, one the traces of which are very widespread, and still perpetuated in Rome—the ancient Festival of Ceres. Dancing and merrymaking are indulged in, and fires are lighted to drive away evil spirits bent on destroying the harvest, then ripe and ready for reaping in Italy, though not in Canada. A couple of years later the Father Superior seems to have had some misgivings as to the wisdom of countenancing and perpetuating the custom. The reason given for not thinking it proper to encourage the custom is that Montmagny did not practice it—a strange lapse of memory, probably, on Father Ragueneau's part, who was joint author of the Journal that year with Father Lalemant.

Though the upper lake trade was cut off, Tadousac did a thriving business of over 224,000 pounds of beaver skins.

That enterprising citizen, M. Abraham Martin, inaugurated this summer seal fishing, and his first venture was successful, for

he and his two nephews killed on Isle Rouge forty-two seals, from which they extracted six barrels of oil. Ptarmigan this year flocked from the north in such numbers—a phenomenon seen occasionally in our own times—that more than 1,200 were killed.

Gov. Montmagny disappears and d'Aillebout takes his place. As the full *factum* of the inaugural ceremonies was embodied in a separate document by Father Lalemant, and not entered in the Journal, we are unfortunately deprived of it.

1649.

In January and February the first executions at the hands of the public hangman took place. The first victim was a girl (*une creature*) of sixteen, convicted of theft. The crime of the other is not named. It was only in the previous September that the sentence of a drummer, convicted of a heinous crime and condemned to death, was commuted on condition of his becoming the public executioner. The hangman having been secured, work was soon found for him!

During Holy Week “the Ursuline nuns committed the astonishing mistake of not keeping three triangular candlesticks on the altar during the tenebræ of the third day, nor any candles except two white ones lighted during the first and second days.”

As soon as the ice broke up, boats were sent to Three Rivers and Montreal for tidings. They returned with reports of famine everywhere, to relieve which forty barrels of wheat, peas and malt-grist were with all haste sent to the sufferers.

While the colonists were straining every nerve to succor their countrymen and savage allies, a band of Abenakis, with letters from New England, came up the river also soliciting relief; but they received the cold shoulder. Troubles were accumulating fast, for during the same months came the terrible news of the Huron massacres and the martyrdom of their confrères on the Georgian Bay. Then in August the Fathers heard of the wreck of a new ship on her voyage from France, with 4,000 livres worth of their property—so badly needed.

In September some Frenchmen eluded the Iroquois, and arrived from the Huron country with 5,000 pounds of beaver skins, which, as they sold for 5 fr. 5 sols the pound, were worth 26,000

livres; with them were two soldiers who brought down 747 pounds additional, which sold for 4 francs the pound. These independent traders evidently did better than the Company, whose total shipments of peltries amounted to only 100 poinçons—worth 100,000 francs.

The following notes conclude the Journal for that year. A fee of 20 sols was exacted in addition to the cost of passage to France, to be paid to the Governor's secretary; he and other officials also got a share of the fines imposed.

Work was commenced on the defenses of Sillery at the public expense. As events proved, it was labor and money thrown away.

The walls of the Jesuit College were raised, and the roof thrown over it, but the interior was not completed. There were now so many Jesuit priests that one could be spared to say mass at Beauport every Sunday and feast day.

1650.

In April there was a council of the Jesuit Fathers to decide two important questions:

I.—Whether a colony of Hurons should be established on their Beauport lands. The first massacre of that unfortunate race on the Georgian Bay, whither they had fled from their old home on the St. Lawrence, had filled the colony with horror and their ardent friends, the missionaries, with fearful forebodings. The removal of the remnant of the race, which was only carried into effect after the second massacre, was evidently even then suggested to the minds of their Jesuit protectors as an approaching necessity, for they decided to permit certain selected families to settle on their lands at Beauport, and appropriated 500 écus annually towards their support. Before this merciful purpose could be carried out, all that had not been destroyed or dispersed of the once powerful nation of 20,000 Hurons, had to be provided for without discrimination on the Island of Orleans. It is interesting to compare the willingness with which the good Fathers proposed to receive on their lands so many impecunious Indian tenants, with their reluctance to permit the two communities of nuns to occupy a strip of the same tract. The former transaction was in their eyes a work of religious charity—the latter a matter of

business with business women, whose salvation was happily not in question. They were careful, shrewd men of affairs themselves, and the heads of the convents and their advisers have seldom been lacking in worldly wisdom.

II.—The second subject of debate was settled in a manner equally creditable to their public spirit. In the previous year 2,000 livres had been appropriated, but the sum had not yet been paid out of the public purse, towards the erection of their house and college at Three Rivers. But, as they had received 6,000 livres from the public as a contribution towards their college in Quebec, they decided that it would be demanding too much to exact the payment of the other donation.

Barbarous associations continued to produce their unhappy effects, as we see by the willingness of the French authorities to turn over an Indian captive to his tormentors, as told in the Journal of June 15th. On the evening of that day a Huron arrived, named Skandahietse, who pretended to have been sent as an ambassador by the Iroquois, and to have hidden by the way two wampum belts, which he was bearing as a pledge of peace, fearing lest they should fall into the hands of the Algonquins. When cross-questioned he contradicted himself so glaringly that he was seized, tried as a spy, and condemned to death. But, before he was turned over to his Indian enemies, he was baptized by the name of Louis.

The Christmas midnight mass was celebrated in the new parish church, on the site of the present Basilica. The edifice had been for three years under construction, and was not finished and consecrated till 1657.

The summer had been a very sad one. Entry after entry in the Journal records the death of an Indian convert, or of a countryman, at the hands of the Iroquois fiends. It must therefore have been with relief, yet with terrible foreboding, that Father Lalemant sailed for France, and turned over his office as Superior, and the volume of the Journal, to his successor, Father Ragueneau.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Administration of Governor de Lauzon and the Failure of Nepotism.

De Lauzon's long connection with the Company as Intendant pointed him out as a suitable successor to Governor d'Aillebout; though had the good Cardinal been alive, his keen discrimination would have detected traits in de Lauzon's character which wholly unfitted him for independent command. But long before Montmagny's term had expired, the Cardinal's life had ebbed, and his shadow, Louis XIII., had followed the vanishing minister to the grave. A still more anomalous pair of rulers succeeded the masterful statesman, and his pliant master, in the persons of the vain and erratic Anne of Austria and her handsome, crafty adviser, Cardinal Mazarin. Nevertheless, although Richelieu was no more, his policy was still the controlling influence in colonial affairs. Mazarin recognized the truth that colonies unprotected by a navy are an easy prey to the enemy, and simply invite war. He, therefore, fostered the construction of a navy, to whose guns the fishing fleet, the mercantile marine, and the struggling colony across the sea might look for protection. In so doing he was carrying out what had been one of the dearest projects of his great predecessor. The humiliating loss of Quebec had taught Richelieu so deep a lesson, that notwithstanding the extreme exhaustion of the resources of France consequent on his wars—successful and glorious though they were—with Spain and Austria, he hastened to build up a fleet of fifty-six war vessels. His name remains associated with the rapids on the St. Lawrence sixty miles above Quebec, and with the river, previously known as the Rivière des Iroquois, which formed the most important strategical highway between the great river and the Hudson. His pious niece, the founder of the Hôtel Dieu, gave her name to the Rue d'Aiguillon in Quebec, which was then the principal thor-

oughfare between the city proper and the settlement that had gathered around the mission house of Notre Dame des Anges in the valley of the St. Charles.

On the other hand Mazarin, the Italian priest, and Anne, the Spanish princess, have left no mark, however faint, on the nomenclature of Quebec topography, and as little on the political institutions of the colony, unless the nomination of Laval as Bishop, which was made at Mazarin's suggestion, through the influence of the Queen Mother, was the fruit of the Cardinal's policy. His whole thought and energy were absorbed in directing France's foreign wars, and his marvellous diplomatic skill found ample scope in wrenching from France's enemy the full benefits derivable from the victory won in the field. Unlike his predecessor, he paid little attention to the internal wants of the kingdom, still less to the woeful plight of her colonies.

Governor succeeded governor during Mazarin's administration, and the minority of Louis XIV., each less notable than his predecessor, between the date of de Lauzon's appearance on the scene and the cancellation of the charter of the One Hundred Associates in 1663, when Canada at length became a Crown Colony, and Louis XIV. and his minister, Colbert, assumed the responsibility of giving it a constitution and conducting its government.

De Lauzon retained office beyond the allotted period of three years. Feeble as was his administration during its first years, it became subsequently so odious, and he himself so unpopular on account of his meanness and parsimony, that he literally fled from the public opprobrium of which he was the object, and from the calamities into which his mistakes were visibly plunging the colony.

His administration marked a departure, which, fortunately for Canada, was as shortlived as his governorship. The Company had pursued the only policy which a financial company can possibly follow. It was created to make money; and it lived to make money, whether successful in doing so or not. Nevertheless its agents, though generally unpopular in Quebec society, had not reprehensibly aimed at self and family aggrandizement. But de Lauzon, who had been appointed by Richelieu as Intendant, or

financial agent of the Company in France, acquired by his influence, or had conferred on himself, in 1632, the seignory of Lauzon and the Island of Montreal. The latter he afterwards transferred to the Maisonneuve company. On his assumption of the Governorship, he bestowed on his son Louis the seignory of La Citière and Gaudarville, so called after Madame Gaudar, his first wife and Louis' mother. He secured the seignory of La Prairie for his son François, who, in 1647, transferred it to the Jesuits, while his son Charles was invested with the seignory of Chine on the Island of Orleans, and in 1656 was also made the seigneur of Levis. Thus, whether acting as a fiduciary agent of the Company in France, or as governor in Canada, he was indefatigable in advancing the pecuniary and social interests of his family. His strangest freak was the use of his authority, as governor, to create the office of Grand Seneschal de la Nouvelle France, and to confer on his son John, then seventeen years of age, this high-sounding title. On Charles he further conferred the office and title of Grand Maître des Eaux et Forêts de la Nouvelle France, with certain fishing rights and perquisites which caused general resentment.

To secure heirs, his sons married early, and took to wife colonial girls of property and good social standing. Jean, the Great Seneschal, who knew so little law that a substitute had to be at once appointed, had come to Canada when a mere boy in 1644. Between that date and his appointment as Supreme Judge he had served with distinction in the French army, but he had not forgotten his Canadian sweetheart, for he made haste to marry her on the 23rd of October, 1651, only nine days after he had disembarked. Charles, the Grand Master of Waters and Forests, came out in January, 1652. He was a youth of only fourteen, yet in less than two months he had taken to wife Marie Louise, the daughter and heiress of Robert Giffard, the Seigneur of Beauport, a girl two years younger than himself. François, the second son, notwithstanding his possession of the seignory of La Prairie, does not seem to have been able to ingratiate himself into the favor of the pretty girls of Canada. To his fourth son, Louis of La Citière and Gaudarville, de Lauzon had

given grant after grant on one plea or another; but Louis was hard to please, and it was not until 1665 that he married a girl of twenty-one, the daughter of Mons. Jacques Nau de Fossambault. The young lady in question had been sent out by the Duchess d'Aiguillon as a nurse and novice of the Hôtel Dieu, but, before taking the veil, she decided that she was not intended for the religious life.

Thus three sons of the ambitious Governor married and settled in Canada, yet they failed to realize his hopes in the matter of perpetuating his family and kindred. Jean was killed by the Iroquois on the Island of Orleans in 1661, and his daughters entered nunneries. Charles lost his wife in October, 1656, and, horrified by the desperate state of the colony, which he was powerless to improve, threw up his authority as his father's gubernatorial representative, sailed to France and entered the Church. He had inherited the family cupidity, for, notwithstanding his assumption of the religious life, he never relinquished the emoluments of his civil offices, even after returning as a priest with Bishop Laval in 1659. His only child, a daughter, entered the convent in La Rochelle, so no heirs succeeded to his empty office.

De Lauzon was an old man of sixty-nine when he came to Canada; his failures may, therefore, be charged to those who appointed him rather than to himself. At the same time the incapacity he manifested in Canada is surprising, considering that he was the first Canadian intendant and owed his appointment to the creator of that order of functionaries, that he had been influential in bringing about the restoration of Quebec to France after its capture by Kirke, and had exerted considerable influence in favor of the Jesuits and against the return of the Recollets. From such a man much might have been expected, yet, as Governor of Canada, he showed himself utterly unable to realize the situation of the colony. The same obtuseness which made him confer ridiculous titles on his sons led him, in 1656, to engage in foolish schemes of remote colonization, when every man was wanted for defense at vital points on the St. Lawrence.

During the five years of his tenure of office Quebec grew but little. Beyond its fort no one was safe from the Iroquois; in-

dustry, in consequence, was paralyzed and immigration ceased. De Lauzon secured for the colonists a small body of troops, which arrived the same year as himself, but they were at once dispatched to Three Rivers, where the Governor, de Plessis-Bochart, with a small body of militia, which he had recently organized and drilled, attacked a body of marauding Iroquois, but with ill-success, for he was defeated and killed. It was a crushing blow, involving the death or capture of fifteen armed men. Three Rivers itself was seen to be at the mercy of the Iroquois; and Sillery, with only a wooden palisade for defense, was a vulnerable point. In all haste, fortifications were thrown up around the Church of Three Rivers, and the few houses and wigwams that clustered about it, and small cannon were mounted, but the expected attack was not made. Indian tactics, then as now, forbade their battling in the open, or assaulting fortified positions. The rules of the hunter are the rules of the Indian warrior. By stealth and subterfuge he tracks his game, waylays and kills his enemy, taking both, if possible, unawares. On the skill, secrecy, and noiseless movement with which he watches and strikes his victim, without needlessly exposing himself, depends the success of the Indian warrior; and to these qualities the Iroquois added tireless energy and industry together with a ceaseless watchfulness. They terrorized the tribes from Lake Superior to Hudson Bay, and swept down with the same relentless cruelty on some of the Atlantic tribes, which were akin to themselves. The stealthiness of their approach and the suddenness of their attack created universal unrest. At Montreal fear became panic, while in Quebec murder after murder in the vicinity, and the reports constantly arriving of crimes elsewhere, produced a condition of ceaseless anxiety.

Father Jacques Buteux, moved by a desire to spread Christianity among the docile Indians of the upper St. Maurice, though in feeble health, started from Three Rivers on April 4th, 1652, with a band of Algonquins and Hurons and a single Frenchman. Unable to keep up with the party, he and his trusted French companion, with the Huron, lagged behind, and when distant a month's travel from the settlement, the two Frenchmen were shot by the Iroquois from an ambush, and the Huron taken prisoner.

Next year Father Poncet and a French layman were surprised near Quebec by some Mohawks and adopted Hurons, and carried captive to the Mohawk valley, where the layman was burnt. The priest, after being maimed, was given to an old woman who had lost her relations. The flying column, organized by Mons. de Mazures, left Quebec under the command of Eustace Lambert in the hope of recovering him. They found the road effectually blocked by an overwhelming force of the enemy at Three Rivers. They did good service, however, at this point, in protecting the almost defenceless hamlet, and in taking some Iroquois prisoners. Force having failed to rescue the captive, negotiations were opened for an exchange of prisoners and for peace, and to this step Mons. Poncet probably owed his life.

So panic stricken was Montreal that in the Spring of the year a schooner sent up from Quebec to receive intelligence of its welfare, returned with the dismal tidings that all the inhabitants were either dead or captured, as on approaching the place no signs of life were visible, so that it was deemed unsafe to investigate further. One is reminded of the first relief expedition to Khartoum. After this the Jesuit Fathers and their servants had a respite until 1655, when brother Liégeois, while working in the field near Sillery, was shot, scalped, and decapitated by some Mohawks. Brother Liégeois was the architect of the Order, and was at the time superintending some additional fortifications at Sillery. Brother Louis Le Boësme was wounded at the Platon river, but escaped.

The list of the murders throughout the colony is a terribly long one. Quebec suffered least. As early as 1651 Nicholas Pinel and his son Giles were shot at on their clearing, but escaped. The Iroquois then fired harmlessly through the door of an Indian shanty, but though no one was hurt, the whole town was so alarmed that when the dogs barked that night on the Côte Ste. Geneviève, imaginary Iroquois were seen prowling everywhere in the darkness. Other alarms were given, and actual crimes were committed; but the same thing may have happened in those troublous days as happens to-day in the West, when white men seize the

opportunity of the Indians being on the warpath or restless to commit deviltry, assured that it will be attributed to the redskins. There were Algonquins and Hurons as ruthless as the Iroquois, and it would be strange if even all Frenchmen shrank from committing crime under the cloak of Mohawk atrocities.

The year 1654 opened with hopes of peace. Onondaga commissioners came with the avowed purpose of negotiating with the Governor, but with the covert object of weaning the Hurons from their allegiance to the French. The scattered bands of that unfortunate tribe, which had followed one another to Quebec, had been settled on land bought from Mad'lle de Grande Maison, on the Island of Orleans, in March, 1651, and to the heads of families had been allotted farms of from twenty perches to one-half acre in size. But the steady toil of agriculture has always been irksome to the Indian. They vastly preferred hunting, and their French neighbors were ever ready to engage in a little illicit fur trade with them. Three of Mons. Giffard's servants were drowned one night when returning from a clandestine negotiation for beaver skins. Moreover, despite the surveillance which their civil and spiritual guides maintained, the mission kept up a secret intercourse with one branch or another of their implacable Iroquois kinsmen. The delegates from the Confederacy, who were met by Father le Mercier, himself returning from a secret conference with his Christian converts, were Onondagas, but they bore presents from the Mohawks. The Christian converts kept the Father informed of the progress of these secret councils, and the Father transmitted the news to the Governor, who in February took into his confidence a number of the leading citizens at the fort. It was decided to charge the Hurons with their treachery. They were confounded, and promised to obey the instructions of the Governor. Here, unfortunately, Father Mercier's minute story comes to a summary stop. Whatever the ulterior designs of the Iroquois might have been, they were willing to conceal them under overtures for peace. Promises of peace had been made when Father Poncet was exchanged in the previous year, and these were now reiterated. They were confirmed, when Father Le Moyne, taking

his life in his hands, accompanied the Onondagas back to their lodges.

Though the Mohawks were ostensibly a party to the peace, the French Governor and his ecclesiastical advisers had probably a motive in sending Le Moyne to the Western canton rather than to the council lodge of the Mohawks. The Mohawks occupying the valley of the river to which they gave their name, and separated from Fort Orange in the Dutch settlement by only a low ridge, not only enjoyed the closest relations with their commercial neighbors, but were able to levy a direct or an indirect tax for passage through their territory on the more Western tribes. Hence there was a spark of jealousy smouldering in the heart of the Confederacy, which Father Le Moyne, as priest delegate, tried to fan into a flame. The confusion of motives, policy and action exhibited in the treatment by the civil powers of the Indians, whether friends or foes, can be explained only when one recollects that, while the Jesuits were the counselors of several of the Governors on matters in general, their special knowledge of the Indian character and speech gave their advice on Indian affairs almost the authority of a command; and—a point of much importance—that their opinions upon Indian policy were unavoidably biased by their religious hopes and fears.

When d'Aillebout needed an ambassador to negotiate with the English, he chose a Jesuit priest; in like manner, when a clever, trustworthy agent was needed to argue with the Onondagas as to who were their friends and who were their enemies, de Lauzon accepted the services of another Jesuit. The members of the Order had studied the Indian language and the customs of the aborigines, and were by training skillful diplomats as well as earnest ecclesiastics. The aptness of their speech has always been matched by the profound discretion of their silence. Neither in the *Relations*, which deal with the religious work of the society, nor in the *Journal*, which narrates the more trifling events of everyday life, is there even a hint of the instructions given to their members when sent on important political missions, or of the outcome of the negotiations. It was a century later before Father Charlevoix, in his history, discussed

the political bearing of these religio-political commissions. It would be interesting to know how the interference of the Jesuit Order in these delicate negotiations was regarded by the intelligent laymen of the colony, and especially of Quebec—the center of government. We know that Maisonneuve and the semi-religious community of Montreal resented the influence of the Jesuits. Father Mercier mentions Maisonneuve's attempt to stop the Onondaga delegate in January, 1654; and we can hardly doubt that in Quebec also there must have been more or less apprehension lest the religious enthusiasm of the missionaries should sway their political judgment, and so render the priest a prejudiced adviser and a dangerous negotiator. A symptom of such jealousy may be seen in d'Aillebout's appointment of Mons. Godefroy as joint ambassador with Father Druillettes to the New England confederacy. Nevertheless, in Indian negotiations, the Jesuit Order could claim a just and valid right to be consulted. In the crisis into which the colony was then drifting their policy was to sow suspicion among the members of the several Iroquois tribes—possibly to create a Western Iroquois confederation which should look to France for assistance against the powerful Mohawk tribe. The Mohawks, thus isolated, would find it more to their advantage to enter into a real alliance with France, than to be ground between the conflicting European forces which were sure to engage in a struggle for mastery over the whole territory.

In the end the Indians proved to be more wily politicians than even the priests. Father Le Moyne was treated royally by the Onondagas, and returned to Quebec in the autumn of 1654, full of hopes of peace, and bearing good tidings of the fidelity of the Huron Christians, who, though absorbed into the heathen tribe, had still clung to their religious faith and practice. The enthusiastic accounts given in the *Relations* of Indian piety—whether exhibited by Hurons, Algonquins, or even Iroquois—seem strangely unreal, if judged by the ultimate results and by the attitude of the Indians to-day towards the Church: still it would be unfair to the Jesuits to stamp them as inventions, or even always as gross exaggerations. The Indian is as susceptible of religious excitement as the white man. History has recorded many a paroxysm

of devotion or fanaticism which swept over almost the whole of Europe. On a smaller scale, we have all witnessed the powerful ~~but~~ transient excitement of local Christian revivals. Among the Indians of our own day the Messiah craze affected nearly all the tribes in the Northwest States and Territories with an intensity which so blinded them to prudence and reason as, not only to endanger the peace of a large section of the Rocky Mountain region, but to expose them to the risk of self-annihilation. The sense of desperation has in all times stimulated, if it has not produced, religious enthusiasm; and the sad plight not only of the Hurons but of other neighboring tribes, under the dread of extermination, at one moment by the Iroquois, at another by epidemic diseases, must have strongly inclined them to accept the consolations and hopes held out by Christianity.

The confidence created by the peace of 1654 was dispelled by the murder of Brother Liégeois near Sillery; but there was no evidence directly implicating the Iroquois. Subsequently a story was current in Quebec—a most improbable one—that Father Le Moyne, when returning with his Onondaga escort, had been attacked by a band of Mohawks, but that he had concealed the fact, lest it should excite his countrymen to war. The Mohawks at this time were so far from desiring war that they not only sued for peace, but prayed that a missionary should be sent to them also. Such a change of heart and policy was indeed extraordinary, and Mère Marie de l'Incarnation could only attribute it to the miraculous protection of God, who had so blinded their enemies that they could not appreciate their own strength or the colony's feebleness. Incidentally, however, she attributes the impression made on the Iroquois to the musical services of the church. "The Iroquois ambassadors, like other Indians, love singing. They were enchanted at hearing our good people sing in French, and as a mark of their appreciation they attempted to imitate the chant by a song after their own manner; but their measures were not harmonious."

The Onondaga peace delegates were in Quebec during the celebration of the jubilee, on the 8th of September, 1653, and the Jesuit Journal relates how terrified the Iroquois were by the dis-

play of military force. Four hundred musketeers were in the line of march, and discharged their firearms at proper intervals. Sulte cannot account for more than 400 as the total population of Quebec; this overwhelming force must therefore have consisted of armed Indians, whom the Iroquois had driven for shelter to Quebec. They looked brave enough when masquerading under the guns of France, but the Iroquois knew that, if they were Algonquins, they were cowards, and if Hurons, dispirited fugitives. Again the undaunted Father Le Moyne pleaded to be allowed to run the risk of martyrdom on the very spot where Father Jogues had offered up his life, and his request was granted, but with happier results; though once a fanatic or a lunatic, running amuck, did threaten his life.

To the Onondagas in 1655 two missionaries were sent from Quebec—Fathers Chaumont and Dablon—accompanied by a large deputation of that nation. Their reception was enthusiastic. A church was built and converts were made, but the message of the gospel did not quell the warlike spirit of the tribe, which engaged that very year, with the other members of the Confederacy, in destroying the Eries (Les Chats). Nevertheless, Father Dablon felt so confident of the amicable temper of the Onondagas, and of their Christian receptivity, that he returned to Quebec early in the Spring of 1656 in order to persuade De Lauzon to found a colony in their midst. The Governor most unwisely acceded to his request, in spite of the warning of a Huron, who had lived long among the Onondagas, and could better interpret their motives, and permitted sixty men to accompany the missionaries, thus weakening his already slender force by that number. By a miscalculation, an attempt of the Mohawks to destroy the detachment while en route failed. Whether or nor the plot was prearranged between the Mohawks and the Onondagas must remain uncertain, but all pretense of friendliness was now thrown off by the Mohawks.

One morning before daylight a fleet of canoes, manned by Mohawk Iroquois, dropped down to the Island of Orleans. They fell upon the Hurons, who were at work in their fields, killed six and carried off eighty captives. Defiantly and unmolested they

paddled past the fort in full daylight, obliging their captives to sing a warsong, and, without pursuit or resistance, reached their village, where a few of the prisoners were tortured and burnt, and the rest adopted into the tribe. The celerity with which the attack and retreat were made, and the lack of preparedness, due to the false security of the Governor and his priestly advisers, do not sufficiently account for the impunity with which this stroke on the part of the Indians was dealt.

The chief explanation is to be found in the feeble force at the disposal of the Governor. Nevertheless, only a fortnight later, when thirty Ottawas appeared, under the leadership of two erratic Frenchmen, de Lauzon allowed thirty of his best men and two Jesuit Fathers to return with them. In trying to analyze his folly in thus depleting his resources in men, one is forced to attribute his action, in part at least, to motives of commerce. The conversion of the savages may have been dear to his heart, but the prosperity of the Company was dearer still. Trade had been stagnant during the whole of his term of office, and he may possibly have determined to signalize its close by two brilliant strokes of policy. The Onondaga colony, it was hoped, would deflect the fur trade from the Hudson to the St. Lawrence, and the Frenchmen who occupied the Ottawa and Lake Superior might be the pioneers—as in fact they proved to be—of a succession of traders, who should win for France, first, the traffic in peltries, then the dominion of that mysterious interior which had gradually expanded to such vast proportions. Both expeditions would have been politic at another time, but just at this crisis they were almost criminal. Every man withdrawn from Quebec increased the peril of the whole country, as no one should have known better than de Lauzon himself; for ever since he had landed the Iroquois had menaced its very existence, and recently had insulted him under the guns of his own *Château*. They had destroyed or scattered, first the Hurons, then the Eries and Ottawas, and now they were tracking the Huron fugitives with the keen scent of bloodhounds. They recognized in them a branch of their own stock, and unless they could succeed in absorbing them, would pursue them with a relentless vengeance until they were utterly

destroyed. They preferred the former alternative, for to win back their recalcitrant kinsmen from under the very eyes and protection of *Onontio* himself, and his black-robed priests, would be a greater triumph than to destroy them.

After taking two such frightful hazards, de Lauzon sailed for France in September, 1656, leaving his son Charles as his representative. He was thus spared before his departure the knowledge of the tragic fate which had befallen Father Garreau and others of the Ottawa expedition at the hands of a band of Mohawks, who had been lying in ambush for them at the entrance to the Ottawa River.

CHAPTER XVII.

A Dreary Chapter in the History of the Colony and City.

Whatever semblance of friendship for the French there may have been on the part of the Onondagas and the western members of the Confederacy, the Mohawks made no attempt to disguise their hostility or their contempt, but continued to conduct negotiations with the miserable remnant of the Hurons. Thus it came about that, in the autumn of this same year, when eighty of the latter had been forcibly carried away captive, a deputation of Mohawks appeared in Quebec to claim the fulfilment of the promise made by the rest, that they would peaceably accompany them and accept affiliation into their tribe. There was no concealment on the part of the Mohawks, and no denial on the part of the Hurons. The delegates in fact demanded a public audience to state their case, and the Governor granted it. There had been many a pow-wow with the Indians in Quebec, but never a council in which the Indian was the aggressor and the government on the defensive.

The orator of the Mohawk deputation first claimed of the Hurons the fulfilment of their promise to return with them. Then he appealed to the Governor not to interfere, hardly concealing a threat of what would happen should he do so. The council adjourned that the Hurons might deliberate. On its reassembling, Father Le Moyne, who had made more than one trip to and fro between the Mohawk Valley and Quebec, spoke. He tried to relieve the Governor's embarrassment by declaring that the Hurons were of age and free to choose their own course; adding that he himself would follow them, should they decide to desert their homes, lest they might also desert their faith. The only branch of the Hurons which decided to return with the deputation was the family of the Bears.

The Mohawks had hardly left with their contingent of the Hurons, when, as if by concert, a deputation of the Onondagas appeared to claim fulfilment of a like pledge. They pretended indignation when they heard that the Bears had left to join the Mohawks. The Governor pacified them with smooth words, and, as the Hurons had repented of their promise, explained that the women and children were afraid to accompany an armed force; but that the following year all would join a deputation of Onondagas in Montreal, should one be sent to meet them there in a friendly spirit. With such subterfuges they were fain to be content, but in their unmoved and stolid countenances an experienced eye might have read the bitter disappointment that was rankling in their hearts.

No outbreak occurred, however, until the following summer. According to Charlevoix, the Onondagas appeared in Montreal at the time appointed, to accompany their Huron guests; but though they had professed unbounded admiration for the French, comparing them most advantageously, morally and socially, with the Dutch, whom they had met at Fort Orange, when the moment of departure arrived, they positively refused to allow any Frenchmen or any priest to join the company. At last they relented so far as to permit a few French laymen to enter their canoes, but denied a place to the priests. These, rather than be parted from their converts, found an old canoe, and, with no other provisions than a sack of flour, followed the cortege.

Dissension occurred on the way. Some of the Hurons were killed, and those that arrived had anything but a cheerful tale to tell to the sixty colonists whom de Lauzon had so foolishly allowed to accompany Father Le Moyne. These had already begun to doubt the sincerity of their hosts, and to entertain apprehensions for their own safety; for news had reached the Iroquois country that a band of Oneidas had killed and scalped three Frenchmen hunting near Montreal, and that, in reprisal, d'Aillebout, who had been appointed by Charles de Lauzon as interim Governor, in the same manner in which Charles had been nominated by his father, had ordered the arrest of every Iroquois, irrespective of tribe, within the confines of Canada. Father Le

Moyne had been entreated by the Mohawks to return at once and use his influence for the liberation of those of their tribe who, they claimed, were being punished for no fault of their own. He delayed his departure till the Spring of 1658, when, in fulfilment of their promise of a safe conduct, the savages delivered him unharmed in Montreal, though war had actually commenced. As to the members of the Onondaga colony, it had become evident to them some time before that the peace was about to be broken, and that unless they could escape by some ruse, their slaughter was inevitable. How Dupuis managed to extricate his little band of Frenchmen from the perilous position is only one of the thousand and one thrilling episodes of this romantic period of Canadian history.

Thus ended in flight the Onondaga colony, the only piece of original statecraft of de Lauzon's administration. He, the Jesuits, his successor, Charles de Lauzon, and d'Aillebout, had all been outwitted by the Iroquois. It may be doubted whether there was really any actual jealousy between the Mohawks and the Western Iroquois; it is more probable that the French had been lulled into security by fictitious dissensions, while the peace had been used to draw away the Hurons from allegiance to their white allies, to whom, notwithstanding their feebleness, they were of inestimable value as scouts. If they could be tempted to desert, not only would the French be deprived of their aid, but the fighting material of the Five Nations would be recruited by men of the same origin as themselves. Both Mohawks and Onondagas were, therefore, anxious to win, rather than destroy, the remnant of the Hurons. All disguise was thrown aside before Dupuis reached the St. Lawrence from Onondaga with his band of fugitive colonists. Even before the return of Father Le Moyne the war had broken out with such violence that the inhabitants of Montreal dared not venture beyond their defences; while, as far east as Quebec, white men and red were falling victims to the murderous enemy. There was no one to stay their hand. The elder de Lauzon had carried back his hallucinations to old France. His feeble son, and substitute as Governor, anxious for the release from responsibility the priesthood would give him, had, after a year's experience, shifted the care of the colony on to the shoulders

of d'Aillebout, whose previous administration had been far too lacking in force and decision to strike terror into the hearts of the Iroquois. In his second administration he at least showed more resolution than his predecessor in venturing to seize all the Iroquois he could lay his hands on, as soon as it was found that the Mohawks had renewed hostilities.

Even had the younger de Lauzon and d'Aillebout been men of strong character, they held office, not by appointment from France, but merely as interim nominees of their respective predecessors. Moreover, the French government, as usual, left them defenceless, while they lacked the prestige which a Royal patent would have conferred.

At last there came from France a real nobleman as Governor—the Vicomte d'Argenson, a man in whom the military instinct was so strong that he had abandoned for the profession of arms the advantages which the Church offered to a man of family, and had distinguished himself in the battles of Sens and Bordeaux during the Fronde troubles. He was greeted, on the very day of his arrival, July 11, 1658, by the war-whoop of the Iroquois and the shrieks of helpless Algonquin women, who were being murdered under the shadow of Cape Diamond. He organized a pursuing party, but did not himself lead it. He had the ceremonies and courtesies of the court to attend to, and an engagement to keep with the Jesuit Fathers, who had invited him to dinner, after which there was to be a garden party, where he and the people of Quebec were to be entertained by a little play. The pursuing party which he had sent out failed to overtake the victors or their captives, but a check to the elation of the savages was administered by La Potherie, the brave and prudent Governor of Three Rivers, when he seized eight warriors, who had approached the fort on the pretence of a peace parley, but whom he suspected, not without reason, of other designs. One he held as hostage, the others he shipped to Quebec to be dealt with as the new Governor might deem fit. This incident somewhat damped the ardor of the Iroquois, and a brief respite from war followed on the action taken by d'Argenson, who decided to allow two of his prisoners to return to the Mohawks and tell their fellow tribesmen that the

five were held as a pledge for their good behavior. This capture by La Potherie was followed speedily by another signal success in the neighborhood of Three Rivers, the first news of which was the arrival of five more Iroquois prisoners at Quebec on the 25th of September; then two more Iroquois, who had taken refuge in Couture's house through the wrecking of their canoe, fell into the hands of the French.

These disasters did not, however, entirely quench the courage of the doughty warriors. Two of them had the hardihood to land at Cap Rouge, and threaten a certain Nopce with death unless he gave them news of their imprisoned brethren. They then looted the store of Mons. Gauthier, and joined the rest of the band on the south shore. Mère de l'Incarnation tells of a terrible thunder-storm in October, which the Iroquois took advantage of to frighten the serving man of the convent, burn their barn, and carry off the oxen. Their audacity, we are told, stirred the Governor to make a reconnoissance, accompanied by twenty-five Frenchmen and two priests; but nothing was seen of the enemy, and possibly the story was largely the creation of nervous fright.

The winter was approaching, and the Iroquois were paddling up stream and making their presence known at various places. At Three Rivers they captured, on the 6th of November, four Frenchmen who were cutting hay on the flats of the south shore. Immediately afterwards, on Lac St. Pierre, they secured four more prisoners. They allowed one to return with a message to the Governor that the seven others would be well cared for, and exchanged in the following spring for their own men if a treaty of peace were made. On further thought they decided not to leave their kinsmen in durance vile so long, if the matter could be otherwise arranged, and consequently a deputation of them appeared on the 20th under the guidance of Father Le Moyne, and accompanied by a Dutchman from the Hudson, whose presence they seemed to regard as equivalent to a safe conduct. There was a great council held, resulting in an exchange of prisoners. All the Iroquois prisoners but four were liberated—these four being held as hostages for the safety of the Jesuit Fathers in the Iroquois country. The captive Frenchmen were restored to their friends.

The usual invitation was made to Iroquois girls to come and marry French lads, and thus cement the peace.

Had the French authorities shown as much vigor as the Iroquois, the positions might have been reversed, for the river was not free of ice when, on April 3rd, three Oneidas appeared to treat for the liberation of their countrymen. The first council was held on the 5th of April, but, as the Governor was firm in maintaining that the Algonquins and Hurons must be parties to any treaty made, and as the month had nearly ended before Noël, the principal Algonquin chief, returned from his winter hunt, the final council was not held until the 28th. Thus it was the 30th before the ambassadors, the liberated prisoners, and Father Le Moyne paddled away, accompanied as far as Three Rivers by the Superior of the Jesuits, by Father Druillettes and by a host of Algonquins, who went thus far to give their final instructions and a hearty godspeed to the Algonquin ambassadors, who were accompanying Father Le Moyne and the Oneidas to the Iroquois country.

The town of Quebec, it will be seen, had not been allowed to stagnate for lack of excitement. The coming and going of the dusky envoys were known to all, and the hopes and fears to which every council gave rise were shared by all; for the Indian war was waged at their very door, and the number of slain, though small, constituted a larger proportion of the scanty population than the casualties of a war usually reach, when calculated on the population of a great nation.

Distressing as the situation of the colony had heretofore been, it was growing steadily worse. Day after day came news of Iroquois hovering about the settlement, and of overt acts of hostility, at the very time when the Mohawks, with Father Le Moyne, were actually en route to treat for the surrender of the four prisoners still in the Frenchmen's hands. The mission arrived on the 3rd of July, and four tedious discussions were held before it was decided to deliver up two of the prisoners, and retain two as hostages for the safe release of two Frenchmen in the hands of the Onondagas. These negotiations were doubtless followed with keen interest by those whose relatives were in captivity; but, to

the rest of the population, there was something very hollow in protestations and promises which experience had shown were liable to be broken without notice, at the first suggestion of caprice or the first imagination of a grievance.

Events of greater interest to the Quebeckers were the arrival of Bishop Laval on the 16th of June, 1659; the dispute which was raging between Father Queylus, head of the Sulpicians of Montreal, and the Jesuits, which the Bishop lost no time in taking up; the organization of the Quebec Church following the Bishop's arrival: the descent of some sixty canoes with peltries from the upper Lakes, giving promise of a revival of trade, which of late years had been very dull; and the starting of Mons. Denis' flour mill, situated on the hill above the Ursuline Convent. The houses being of wood, fires at this period were not infrequent. Sometimes one would occur, as in the case of the Ursuline Convent, which assumed the dimensions of a public calamity; while smaller conflagrations would bring heavy loss to private individuals. Good Mathieu Chourel and his wife were at mass at Beauport when their house was burnt down. Martin Prévôt's house suffered the same fate, and in February, 1661, the house of Boutentrein, in the Lower Town, was burnt to the ground with all its contents. The Bishop tried to stop the fire with the Host, as has been done in our day, and some thought that the fury of the flames was momentarily checked; nevertheless the building with all that it contained was totally consumed.

The new Ursuline Convent, enlarged though it was, could hardly accommodate the influx of pupils when the Indians were forced by the Iroquois into the town. Even before the raid made by the Iroquois on the Huron settlement on the Island of Orleans, preparations were under way to transfer the remnant of that nation to Quebec. When the removal took place they pitched their wigwams on the open space before the fort, and there subsequently a stockade was erected for their protection. Those who had not followed the chief of the Bear family to the Iroquois country took refuge in the city, and, to quote Mère de l'Incarnation's own words—"Their girls, to the number of seventy or eighty, went every day as pupils to the convent. After worship

and instruction a portion of *sagamité* was served to each girl on her own plate of birch bark. Then, after returning thanks, each went to her cabin, there to share her meal with her family."

No fervor of charity, however, could render an Indian encampment in the heart of the town long endurable. Huron Christians, notwithstanding their acknowledged virtues, were still Indians, and their old habits were not wholly eradicated by their conversion. Nevertheless, as it would have been barbarous to drive them beyond the pale of protection, their presence was tolerated until the peace of De Tracy in 1667, when they were removed a mile and a half from the city to the mission of Notre Dame de la Foye. Even there the mutual injury to morals, which results from too close proximity between white men and Indians, must have been severely felt, for the remnant of the once great nation was transplanted in 1693 to Ancienne Lorette. Long subsequently they built the pretty village which they still occupy beside the falls of the St. Charles, and which they lovingly named Jeune Lorette. Here, on the very outskirts of the great forest which stretches northward without break to the Arctic regions, they can cultivate their farms and yet obey their racial hunting instincts. Happily there has never been between the Indian and the Frenchman that repugnance which prevents lawful wedlock, and therefore the blending of the two in the Lorette Indian of to-day has produced a type which combines some of the admirable qualities of both nations. The work of the Jesuit Fathers still bears its fruit, and whoever knows the Lorette Indian and has hunted with him, can excuse the vein of exaggeration in which the Jesuit Fathers record the many virtues of their converts.

The first ship of the season of 1659 had brought out the Bishop, and from the last, the "Saint André," which arrived on September 6th, there landed three nuns and two priests for Montreal. Their ministrations had been needed on the voyage, for there were on board one hundred and thirty immigrants intended for Montreal, not Quebec, and typhoid fever of so virulent a type had broken out among them that ten had died. The Jesuit annalist is not sure whether the number is nine or ten. The matter was a purely mundane one, and he was more anxious to record an incident of really

serious, that is to say of ecclesiastical, moment. The Bishop and the Viceroy were already quarreling as to the selection of their seat or throne in the Church. Fortunately there was a mediator at hand in the person of ex-Governor d'Aillebout, who decided that the Bishop should sit within the altar rail, the Governor in the very middle of the aisle, but outside the balustrade. After narrating how the momentous issue had been settled, Father Lalemant goes on to tell of the landing of four patients from the ship and the spread of the disease among the people. But perhaps, after all, the victory of the Bishop over the Governor in this trifling incident was of more importance in its bearing on the future of the colony than the death of a few poor folk from fever. The lives of these were in any case to be of short duration, but the political power of the Church, for which Laval, from first to last, fought valiantly and consistently, was a force that was never to die, but which was destined to shape the character both of the people and of the Government for all time to come.

It was a very sad autumn for the little town. The Iroquois were everywhere, and had carried off a man named Routier from Cap Rouge, while the contagious fever was picking off its victims, among whom was good Father de Quen, who had, like many a devoted priest, fallen a voluntary martyr to duty when ministering to the dying. Not many were added to the population by the one hundred and thirty immigrants who had sailed from France in the "Saint Andre," for of these some, as we have seen, died on shipboard, others landed only to occupy a narrow bed in the little cemetery at the top of Mountain Hill, or the Hôtel Dieu graveyard, while not a few of the old inhabitants succumbed to the deadly disease.

The spring of 1660 brought no relief, but, on the contrary, intensified the prevailing anxiety. An Iroquois prisoner was brought in by a band of Tadousac Indians. He was too seriously wounded to survive a journey to Tadousac, whither his captors would have taken him, in order that the whole tribe might revel in the sight of his death agony; so they burnt him in Quebec; but he had first the satisfaction of terrifying the whole town with a story of the marshal-

ling of a great array of 800 of his tribesmen. Mère Marie de l'Incarnation tells the story graphically in one of her letters. "After disposing of the prisoner, that is, burning him, it was determined to inspect the nunnery and to decide whether it was fit to withstand a siege. The Governor, accompanied by experts, visited the building several times, and posted sentries at each end of our house. At regular intervals they changed guards. Redoubts were thrown out, the strongest being near our stable. It defended the barn on one side and the church on the other. All our windows were walled up and perforated with loopholes. Openings were made from room to room, and a bridge thrown between our dwelling and that of our servants. The sole means of exit left from our court was by a little door, through which we could pass only one by one. In a word, our convent was turned into a fortress, garrisoned by twenty-four brave men. When we were ordered out, the guard had already been placed. I begged leave to remain, fearing to leave our convent to the mercy of a lot of soldiers. Besides, I had to furnish them with food for both their mouths and their muskets. Three of the sisters stayed with me, but I confess I was deeply troubled when I found that they had removed the Holy Sacrament, and that we were left without it. Sister Ursule, one of the Sisters, wept bitterly, and refused all consolation. I had to submit, however, to the deprivation—the greatest which could be imposed. Our community and that of the *Hospitalières* were accommodated in the building of the Jesuit Fathers, whose Superior assigned us apartments quite separate from the main lodging house. We had quarters in the Logis de la Congrégation. To the *Hospitalières* was assigned another building near by, namely, the carpenter shop. The Jesuit property is surrounded by a strong wall, and therefore we are secure. The Christian Indians were allowed to build their cabins in the yard. As soon as the people saw us quit our convent, which was a building comparatively safe and strong—much more so than the Hospital, which from its situation is more exposed to the Iroquois attack—they were terrified, looking upon our removal as an admission that all was lost. In a panic they left their houses and fled—some to the fort, others to the Jesuit college, the Bishop's palace, and some even to our

convent, where were harbored six or seven families, some in our servants' rooms, others in one of our parlors, and in the public offices. The rest barricaded themselves as best they could in the lower town, where guards were posted for their further protection. On the morrow, which was the Thursday of Pentecost, the Reverend Superior conducted our sisters and their charge back to the convent. We should have chosen a Mother Superior on that very day had these troubles not compelled us to postpone the election; and this same routine continued for eight days, the nuns leaving the convent every evening and returning on the following morning at six o'clock. But we were bereft of our Holy Sacrament until the day of the Fête Dieu. On the 8th day of the month the army of the Iroquois was reported as being near. In fact it had been seen. In less than half an hour everyone was at his post, and all our doors again barricaded, and I served out to each of the soldiers all he needed. Just then one of our people, who had been fishing, assured us that he had actually seen a canoe with eight men erect in it, coming from the Iroquois haunt at the Chaudière Falls. This news confirmed the private rumors, but happily both proved false."

There was, in point of fact, an expedition consisting of some one hundred Iroquois on its way to ravage the St. Lawrence country, but it was checked and diverted from its purpose by the heroic act and self-sacrifice of Dollard and his little band of immortals, who devoted themselves to death in order to save the colony.

The advantage was not always on one side, and Quebeckers could witness, if they would, many an act of cruel vengeance on their foes. On May the 3rd eight Iroquois in a canoe, who were carrying off Madame Picart, whom they had captured with her four children at St. Anne, and wounded to death, were surprised in the attempt to land at Point Levis. Three were drowned; the remaining five were taken prisoners; of these, three were burnt in Quebec, one was saved for the amusement of Three Rivers, and the life of one was spared. The Jesuit Fathers exerted themselves to stay these barbarities, but to have actually forbidden them would have dangerously weakened their influence over their Indian converts. When possible they ransomed the

prisoners. This they succeeded in doing in the case of an Iroquois girl of twelve, whom they bought with strings of beads, and thus saved from death; for in the warfare of the tribes neither sex nor age afforded protection.

In June the news of ex-Governor d'Aillebout's death reached Quebec. He died in Montreal, where his remains still lie. As Maisonneuve's lieutenant he was always more closely related to the struggling religious community of Montreal than to the trading post of Quebec; and in Montreal, therefore, his ashes rightly repose. All the French governors of Canada who died in office—and there were many—were buried in Quebec. Champlain's remains occupy an unknown grave. Chevalier de Mézy died in office, and was buried in the cemetery of the Hôtel Dieu in Quebec, where not even a headstone marks the spot. Frontenac (1698), his successor De Callières, (1703), and de Callières' successor, Philip de Rigault (1725), the Marquis de Vaudreuil, all died when Viceroys, and were buried in the Church of the Recollets in Quebec. Jacques Pierre de Taffanel, Marquis de la Jonquière, laid down the cares of office in February, 1752, to die in May of the same year. He too was buried in the Church of the Recollets. The bodies of these five viceroys were transferred, on the destruction of the Recollet Church, to the Cathedral, where a tablet only has been erected to their memory, though several of them certainly merit more distinguished commemoration.

The Spring ships arrived with news of the new treaty of commerce made by M. de Bécancour; but of what avail were more favorable conditions, when trade was almost at a standstill; when the Lake Indian could only approach the St. Lawrence with his beaver skins at the risk of his life; and when every house was an improvised fortress? The colony had been saved for that summer from further raids by the heroism of Dollard, though small bands of Iroquois still prowled about, capturing French and Indians. The comparative security prevailing permitted the Western Indians to descend. Le Groseillier, of Lake Superior, brought down sixty canoes full of skins, worth 200,000 livres, of which Montreal traders bought one-fourth; the balance was sold in Three Rivers. The party took back two Jesuits and seven lay-

men, but at Montreal they insisted on landing Father Albanel.

As a comment on the false colonial policy which had been pursued, the same ship which brought out the new commercial treaty was hurried back to France for a load of flour. The colony had now been over half a century in existence, and was not even yet self-supporting in the matter of food supplies. This scarcity, according to d'Argenson, was due to the disturbed condition of the country, and to a dread that the Iroquois would prevent the garnering of the harvest, if sowed. According to the census then taken, the population of the country around Quebec numbered nearly thrice that of the town itself; in normal times, therefore, this farming population should have produced a large surplus of cereals over what was needed for the consumption of a town of 547 souls.* What crops there were the poor farmers were permitted to gather in peace this autumn, for d'Argenson had arrested four Iroquois, who had come to him under pretence of being ambassadors, and the Montrealers had arrested eleven more of the same band, who were awaiting there the news of their delegates' mission. Fearing that extreme measures might be taken against the prisoners, the Iroquois refrained from further atrocities. But the lull was short, for in 1661 the Iroquois first appeared at Tadousac, where they dealt so decisive a blow that that outpost was abandoned. The same band then ascended the river, and on the 18th of June struck terror into the whole district of Quebec by eight murders on the north shore and seven on the Island of Orleans. On the 22nd, de Lauzon's son, the seneschal, with his men, were waylaid when hastening to warn his brother-in-law, l'Espine, who was shooting, of his danger, and all were killed. L'Espine found the bodies and brought news of the disaster to Quebec on the 24th. The Iroquois were too prudent to attack the town itself, but, as they ascended the river, victim after victim sank under their stroke, or, worse still, fell into their hands alive. At last from twenty-five to thirty Christian captives were thus at their mercy.

* This census gives to	Beaupré.....	533	Rivière St. Charles...	112
	Beauport.....	185	Quebec.....	547
	Côte St. Jean.	153		<hr/>
	Sillery.....	145		1,675

When the state of the colony seemed hopeless, there appeared a deputation of Onondagas and Cayugas, pleading for peace, with an exchange of prisoners and for the return of the black robe. The Governor called an assembly of the citizens of Quebec. The sincerity of the redskins might well be doubted, but they were willing to release four Frenchmen, whom they had brought with them, and to restore ten more, if the eight Iroquois captives were liberated. There could be but one response. There were not as many men capable of bearing arms in the colony as there were Iroquois warriors, so that an offensive policy was impossible. The eight Iroquois were released, and the four Frenchmen restored to their homes. Then that undaunted hero, Father Le Moyne, exposed himself to a martyr's fate by going for the fifth time on a self-imposed mission to the Iroquois. As a result, the nine Frenchmen in the hands of the Onondagas were released at once, and a promise given that the others would be sent back in the following spring. Those who survived reached Montreal in August, 1662. Encouraging though they seemed, these exchanges of courtesy and of prisoners did not stay the war. The released Frenchmen and their escorts met on the way a prisoner in the hands of a band of savages, who were exulting over the murder of Mons. de Maistre, one of the priests of St. Sulpice; two months afterwards another priest of that order, Mons. Vignal, fell a victim to Mohawk ferocity. The lower St. Lawrence was troubled with apprehension only, being exempt from actual attack during the autumn of 1661, and also the summer of 1662, when the Iroquois were harrowing the Algonquin tribes to the north and south of the upper river.

The arrival of the ships in 1661 was late. It was the third of August before a boat from Percé, having on board the Abbé Queylus and others, brought news that a new Governor to succeed d'Argenson, Mons. d'Avaugour, was close at hand. It was a poor consolation to welcome merely a governor and his secretary, when what all were praying for was an army to drive back the Iroquois, and carry the war into the enemy's territory. D'Argenson done as well perhaps as could be expected. He had more than once exposed his own person to risk of capture; and

his plaint to the home government as to his helplessness, with an empty treasury and empty barracks, while hostile barbarians were scouring the country, is very pitiful. Though not a great captain or a profound politician, he was a man of sufficient observation and common sense to form an accurate opinion as to what the colony needed in its governor. Writing to his brother, the year before his recall, on the subject of his successor, he urges him to use his influence and "to do his best to induce the Company to choose a person who should possess, besides real piety, great decision of character and vigorous health. Another qualification, which is absolutely necessary," he says, "is that he be a man of such rank that no one can despise him by reason of his birth, and so rich that no one can accuse him of coming out to Canada to make his fortune. A mere suspicion of selfish motives would counteract all the good he might attempt to do." He himself, during his administration, did really more fighting with the Bishop than with the Iroquois, and the record of his administration is one of dire distress, humiliating disasters inflicted by a savage foe, and petty domestic skirmishes, which he had neither tact to avoid nor the skill to win.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Governor d'Avaugour's Administration—The Earthquake of 1663.

The new Governor did not enter on the performance of his functions till d'Argenson sailed in September, occupying the interval with travel and study of the country and its conditions, and of the elements that would aid or oppose him in his official capacity. The situation on the whole was not encouraging. A triangular fight was in progress between the Governor, Father Queylus, and the Bishop; and it was clear that the Bishop was getting the best of it with both his opponents. It became a serious question how long the Bishop and he would remain on good terms. The quarrel over the brandy question had broken out, and the Bishop's views were so extreme that in October he had three men shot for selling it to the aborigines. In the eyes of the new Governor such rigor was excessive. As to the country itself, it impressed him most favorably, and he gave glowing accounts of it in his despatches. Had he examined conditions, however, with a more practical and statesmanlike eye, he would not have postponed an appeal for help until writing his second despatch; for a month's experience should have been more than sufficient to satisfy him that the colony was in dire straits, and that, unless the Crown of France assumed the cost and responsibility of defending it, there was nothing to look forward to save annihilation. Nor would it have required a very large army to subdue the Five Nations just then. They had been weakened by continual warfare, in which, though successful, their numbers had been gradually reduced, and they had not yet recruited their

losses by absorption. The *Relation* of 1660 computes their fighting strength as follows:

Mohawks	500
Oneidas	100
Onondagas	300
Cayugas	300
Senecas	1,000

Making a total of..... 2,200

Grenlaugh estimates their forces, in 1677, as—

Mohawks	300
Oneidas	200
Onondagas ..	350
Cayugas	300
Senecas	1,000

Total..... 2,150

The Senecas had taken only a subordinate part in the wars with the French and their allies, and had consequently suffered the least. The Tuscaroras were not incorporated as a sixth nation until 1712. The number of Indians inhabiting the continent at the time of the advent of the whites is unquestionably exaggerated in popular estimation. So far as any data exist, the members of the Huron and Algonquin tribes adjacent to the St. Lawrence, who were allies to the French, were even less numerous than those of the Five Nations, while, as war material, they were of course vastly inferior.

D'Avaugour, however, was neither a careful observer nor a sensible adviser, to judge by his last despatch, published in the *Collection of Manuscripts*, Vol. I, page 155. It is such an incredibly senseless document, and so expressive of the unfitness of the men chosen by the Company, and confirmed by the Crown, as Governors of New France, that it is worth copying in full:

“Monseigneur—My first despatch describes the length and breadth of the great river St. Lawrence: My second was upon the

necessity of fortifying the city of Quebec: In the third I present the unwisdom of ceding the colony of Plaisance in Newfoundland and Gaspé, and now, Monsieur, I venture to propose to you a project for the conquest of the two towns inhabited by the English and Dutch, thus making the King master of the continent and its people. These people, who are all heretics of the Reformed Religion, so-called, live under a kind of liberty, and have Governors over them only at intervals. They are very rich, through enjoying the fishing and trafficking with the Indians.

“If His Majesty would only capture these towns, he would be ruler of the finest portions of America, for the winters are not as cold as in Canada. Only four large war vessels, with 4,000 men, are required. My hope is that His Majesty will put me in command. If he does, I will reduce the towns of Boston and Manhattan between the months of May and July, and return by Albany, leaving garrisons in all the towns to hold the people in subjection.”

This bold project, to conquer with 4,000 men the 40,000 reported some years before by Druillettes as composing the fighting population of New England, not to mention the Dutch of the Hudson, was signed on September 2nd, 1663, just a fortnight before—as the result of his misunderstanding with the Bishop—the Governor was replaced by de Mézy. Whether the valiant Governor's despatch had much influence at Versailles may be doubted, for facts, only too well known in France, spoke for themselves. The *Relations* of the Jesuits had for years past described the forlorn condition of the French inhabitants, scattered in little villages along the banks of the river for over 200 miles, and of the larger but still insignificant groups, organized as towns, with a population of less than 3,000 souls; never sowing a crop with any certainty of being allowed to garner it, or so much as issuing from their homes with any sense of security for their lives. Had they all been men, they might have left their homesteads and attacked the Iroquois, but they dare not desert their women and children. Year after year, moreover, the Superior of the Jesuits had sent one priest and another to plead in France for their flocks. Father Le Jeune had gone

himself on this mission in the autumn of 1660. And now, in 1661, the people despatched a delegation to urge their cause. They and the new Governor selected a good advocate in the person of Mons. Boucher, commandant of Three Rivers. He had lived thirty years in the colony, and his visit to France was opportunely timed. Mazarin, who had been too busy in maintaining his own dubious position to give much care to the condition of the colony, had passed away more than a year previously, and the young King, Louis XIV., was beginning to practice the theory of kingcraft which his father's great minister had inculcated—to be a king in deed as well as in name. He therefore heard with interest, and questioned with intelligence, the sturdy colonist, who, if not versed in court etiquette, possessed, after the manner of frontiersmen, the higher qualities of the true gentleman—stern honesty and modest courage. The monarch in response promised to send a regiment of soldiers to drive back the Iroquois, and a contingent of settlers to recruit the depleted population; better still, he decided to cancel the charter of the commercial company, and to take over the government himself. The time was ripe for a successful forward movement, if France had been alive to the value of her colony, and willing to brace herself for the effort necessary to secure its present safety and its future development. Cromwell's vigorous colonial policy had been closed by his premature death—a policy which had cost Spain some of her most cherished West Indian Islands, and France the Colony of Acadia. Louis XIV. might repeat the Protector's colonial achievements, for Cromwell's successor in England was not a man to oppose him vigorously. Moreover, Charles II. was parting with the only minister, Shaftesbury, who would have been a match for Louis' adviser in all marine and colonial matters, Colbert, had a struggle arisen at that time.

In order to obtain independent information, Louis XIV. sent a special commissioner to Canada, the Sieur Dumont, and, as a pledge of his interest, despatched with him two shiploads of immigrants, who arrived October 27th. Dumont, judging Montreal to be the most needy and also the most important outpost of the colony, carried his colonists thither. The population

of Montreal must indeed have been reduced to a low point, for, even with this large addition and subsequent increments, the inhabitants in 1666 numbered only 625. Of seventeen deaths in Montreal in 1661, fourteen were at the hands of the Iroquois. The population of Montreal was in fact being rapidly exterminated when the contingent under Dumont arrived to recruit its numbers and its courage. Apart from its claims as a religious outpost of the Church, it was, from both a military and a mercantile point of view, of cardinal importance. Montmagny and subsequent Governors, with their feeble forces, judged it unwise to attempt to defend the upper river; but, had their military resources been sufficient, they would doubtless have made of Montreal a barrier for the defence of the population and trade of the lower river by establishing there a fortress of sufficient strength with an adequate garrison. As it was, Montreal protected Three Rivers and Quebec simply by satiating the appetites of the Iroquois, who so harassed the unfortunate inhabitants as to reduce them to famine and despair during the years 1662 and 1663. The people of Quebec did not suffer till the latter year from actual attack, but the town was in an agony of suspense and anxiety, as news of one disaster after another was brought by white messengers from Montreal, not to speak of reports, true and false, brought by the Indians, of marauding bands setting out from the Iroquois country. There was dreadful apprehension for the safety of Father Le Moyne and the French captives among the Onondagas, and these fears were heightened by the appearance of seven canoes of Iroquois braves on the 10th of September, who paddled past the city and killed two Frenchmen on the Island of Orleans. Nevertheless, though war was in progress, the hostiles were true to their promise, and on the 15th of September Father Le Moyne appeared with the released captives, to the infinite joy of the inhabitants.

It was an exciting summer, for the Iroquois band after killing two Frenchmen fell on a Huron family on the Island of Orleans, after which they hurried down the river, and murdered more Frenchmen near Tadousac. Returning, they flaunted their contempt for the French by firing on some Huron canoes immediately

in front of the town. As if these troubles were not enough, there was dissension among the French themselves. Following close in the wake of Father Le Moyne's canoe came Mons. Le Ber's boat from Montreal with Mons. de Maisonneuve on board, bound for France to make another appeal for help. Immediately on landing, Mons. Le Ber was arrested as an accomplice in some real or suspected conspiracy, and his goods were confiscated. What the act was with which he was charged, or against whom the conspiracy was aimed, the records do not give the faintest hint. The fact is simply stated in the *Journal des Jésuites*, which further mentions that, as a consequence, Mons. de Maisonneuve changed his plans and returned to Montreal. The Governors were, in fact, Governors of Quebec, rather than Governors of the Colony, and had always shown jealousy of the growing importance of the struggling town at the mouth of the Ottawa. De Lauzon had, during his tenure of office, cancelled Maisonneuve's right to his warehouse in Quebec, and possibly this interference with the plans and movements of the Montreal Governor may have been simply another instance of the exercise of arbitrary power instigated by jealousy.

The Bishop had excommunicated all who were engaged in the traffic, and had sailed for France to lay before the King a formal complaint against the Governor, and defend his own position. During his absence the Jesuits did their best to continue his policy. But while the good Fathers were willing to use all the powers of the Church and of the State to check the demoralization of their converts through the use of ardent spirits, they were by no means total abstainers themselves, or advocates of it. Just then, indeed, a little occurrence within their own doors showed what accidents may happen in the best regulated communities. It was their custom to give their choristers beer, and at Christmas time they supplemented it with a flask of wine. That might not have done much harm, but the chief warden, without their knowledge, duplicated the dose, which proved too much for the youngsters. That such a catastrophe, which it was impossible to conceal, should have happened at a moment when they were thundering excommunications against all

persons, high or low, guilty of selling drink to the savages, was, to say the least, embarrassing, and must have exposed the reverend gentlemen to not a little irreverent chaff.

Unfortunately other crimes as well were rife. La Badande's house was rifled by thieves, and then burnt to conceal the robbery; but the criminal, one Larose, was speedily apprehended and hanged. Other thieves were caught after this, but so lax had become the standard of civil authority, or so antagonistic the attitude of the civil officials towards the reverend conservators of public morals, that no convictions could be secured. The Fathers were in despair, when the whole country was suddenly frightened into a sense of its wickedness by the most violent earthquake on record in Canada. The foci of greatest disturbance were then, as subsequently, at or near Baie St. Paul, where a little hill is described as toppling into the river, and then, through the elevation of the land, reappearing as an island. Quebec, near the center of the movement, felt the shocks acutely. Father Lalemant describes the movement as less violent in elevated localities than in low-lying ones; it is probable, therefore, that the shores of the St. Lawrence and the lower town were more violently shaken than the upper town.

There had been premonitions for months previously of an impending convulsion, aerial voices, fiery serpents flying through the air, magnificent double suns, and a solar eclipse with other natural and some most abnormal phenomena—all interpreted afterwards as supernatural warnings. All passed unheeded, however, until half-past five on Shrove Monday, 1663, when the people were preparing for the feasting and revelry of Shrove Tuesday. Suddenly there was a noise as of a furious conflagration, followed by a rocking motion, which overturned household articles, cracked walls from cellar to roof, threw down chimneys, crushed the ice on the river, shivering it into splinters, and terrified the whole population into such an access of piety that "Shrove Tuesday was happily converted into Good Friday," to use the Jesuit description, and the rush to the confessionals kept the priests busy the whole night. But the reformation was shortlived, as Father Lalemant is willing to confess in his letter to the General of the Order, which was not in-

tended for publication. "The whole region," he says, "was shaken at one and the same time by a violent earthquake on the 5th day of February. It was not continuous, but intermittent—now more, now less violent. There was a wonderful commotion of men's minds at the start, producing conversions, both among the French and the natives; but these were so transitory that an increase, rather than a decrease, of the scourge was deserved by many. However, no notable loss was felt, if you except the loss of some chimneys, which immunity is rightly attributed to the special favor of God. These things seem proper to be written to you fraternally in this my private letter. I send another—a public one—with matters more fully considered as regards our plans about combating future wants."—Thwaite's *Jesuit Relations* 47, page 255.

In fact, despite the consternation with which the phenomena were viewed, and the exaggeration with which they were described, this earthquake was probably not much more violent than many that have occurred since, but which, from familiarity, create little or no terror. There had been slight shocks in 1661, but this was the first occasion when the new settlers experienced the horrible sensation of cosmic instability which results from the discovery that the solid earth is really elastic, and that the everlasting hills themselves may shake and tremble. Physical fear was intensified by superstitious terror and belief in the interference of supernatural and malevolent agencies. Mère Marie de l'Incarnation expressed the current opinion when she tells us that "the devils undoubtedly mix themselves up with natural occurrences." As always happens, the further removed the phenomena were from the actual observation of the narrators, the more extraordinary they were described as being. At Three Rivers, when the rocks were cracking and actually disappearing, a horrid, shapeless and monstrous specter was seen crossing from east to west along the edge of the moat constructed for the military defence of the town. At Montreal the terror was less, because, as the Church declared, the consciences of the pious people there were not disturbed on account of their sins—more probably because, owing to the greater distance from the center of disturbance, the shocks were less violent. The duration of the

disturbances was prolonged into August, by which time the compunction for sins had grown fainter than even the expiring throes of the troubled earth.

Towards the end of May the community was startled by news of the burning of the *Sieur de Beaulieu's* house on the Island, and the discovery of the remains of the master and his valet in the ruins. It was not long before the supposed accident was suspected to be a crime, and circumstances pointed to another servant of the deceased as the probable culprit. He was arrested, and the criminal, after being tortured on the public scaffold, was shot. The public hangman was not idle, for next month a fugitive from justice from Tadousac was arrested, and hanged on the following day. A few brighter incidents, however, are recorded. An English bark brought in seven Frenchmen, rescued from the Iroquois. It was probably a ship sailing from New Amsterdam which was glad to carry this living cargo as an excuse for trading within prohibited limits on the St. Lawrence. Then there returned from the Ottawa country all but two of the little band so recklessly allowed to go thither three years before, when the colony was in the direst straits for men. The 150 Indians who accompanied them brought down in thirty-eight canoes a good stock of beaver skins—a most welcome consignment when nearly all the avenues of trade were blocked by the Iroquois. Whether the Fathers of the Society of Jesus had a lien on these skins is not expressly stated, but Father Lalemant assures us that the Society's outlay on the expedition exceeded the value of the skins by 800 livres. It was, in truth, not without heavy outlay that the Jesuit mission was maintained, and therefore not without good reason that the Franciscan Recollets, with their stringent vows of poverty, had been forced to resign this missionary field to the more opulent order. The Jesuits were fulfilling their duty as hosts to the Indians in the most generous manner. In the previous winter, in addition to the destitute Hurons who had sought the protection of the fort, there had congregated in and about Quebec between 300 and 400 Algonquins from Sillery, Nova Scotia, and Tadousac, fleeing from forest, lake and river—haunted by the specter of the dreaded Iroquois. The Indian population of the

town was therefore well nigh as numerous as the white, for before winter set in the shifting, seafaring class had vanished.

The support of this concourse of helpless savagery devolved necessarily on the Society. There was no money in the public treasury for their relief. The Company was bankrupt, even if its agents had been willing to help; and the people were poor. The Society of Jesus was therefore alone in a position to protect the fugitives from starvation.

What wonder that the Algonquin tribes yielded so generally to the sweet influences of charity, and adopted a form of Christianity, which not only gratified their senses with its picturesque and significant ritual, but gave them wherewithal to be fed and clothed? Though the town was exempt from some of the disastrous results which to-day attend the close contact of the aboriginal races with immigrant Anglo-Saxons, nevertheless the existence of a certain amount of immorality and even crime, arising from such intercourse, had to be admitted. The adherents of the Bishop attributed the vice entirely to the baneful influence of brandy; but it was in part, without doubt, due to the laxity of Indian habits and the easy morals of a large section of the unmarried French, who were already acquiring too great a fondness for Indian ways in other matters than mere forest roving.

The contrast between the exemplary piety of the Montreal colonists and the greater license of the port of Quebec was not wholly due to the strict rule of Maisonneuve and the stern religious and municipal influence of the Sulpicians at Ville-Marie. The two towns were very differently situated, and to maintain order in Quebec must have taxed the energies of the Bishop and his secular clergy with all the aid the Jesuits could render. During the busy season of navigation the influx of reckless sailors had a most demoralizing effect, and during the idle time there was great temptation for the men to amuse themselves with the Indians in a way which the Church could not commend. These unfavorable conditions did not exist in the sister town to anything like the same extent; and there was little therefore to counteract the influence of a pious clergy and of civil leaders who were themselves religious devotees.

Meanwhile great changes were taking place. Canada had ceased to be governed by a trading company, and had become a Crown Colony.*

* The Indian population of the Eastern Provinces has probably not very much decreased between the 17th century and to-day. The census of the existing Indian population of the Province of Quebec, as given in Roy's Bulletin, March, 1901, is as follows:

Bécancour.....	Abenaki Reservation.....	49
St. Pierre du Lac.....	Abenaki Reservation.....	374
Maniwaki.....	Algonquin.....	396
Temiscamingue.....	Algonquin.....	190
Viger-Temiscouata	Amalicates.....	111
Hurons at Lorette.....	Quarante Arpents and Portneuf.....	449
Charlesbourg.....	Amalicates.....	34
County of Quebec.....	Abenakis.....	19
Saint Urbain.....	Abenakis.....	23
Caughnawagha.....	Iroquois.....	1,995
St. Regis.....	Iroquois.....	1,337
Oka.....	Iroquois.....	1,130
Maria (Baie des Chaleurs)	Micmacs.....	86
Restigouche.....	Micmacs (under Capouchins).....	541
Escoumains.....	Montagnais.....	35
Bersimis.....	Montagnais.....	451

There are, therefore, of Algonquin origin in the Province of Quebec, 1,300; of Iroquois converts of the Jesuits, drawn from the Five Nations, 4,462; and of Hurons, 449.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Dissolution of the Company of One Hundred Associates and the Assumption of the Government by France.

The Company of the One Hundred Associates, after a feeble existence of thirty years, died in the year 1663. Organized by Richelieu, it was hailed at the time of its creation as a practical refutation of the contention that commercial activity was only to be found in association with the theology of the Reformation and advanced political views. The history of the Company certainly established the negative fact that being a good Catholic did not necessarily make a Frenchman a good business man. It also brought out the irreconcilable antagonism between the service of God and the service of Mammon, as illustrated by the exploiting of a territory for purposes of gain by men working under a charter which bound them to make the conversion of the natives to Christianity their chief concern. The commercial company failed to make money, and failed to govern the country successfully. Its headquarters were in Paris. The scene of its operations was three thousand miles away. Half a year must elapse before instructions followed the report of events. The constitution of the Company required that the head of the corporation should reside in France, and yet a free hand had of necessity to be given to, or at any rate assumed by, the local authorities, more especially as the people were debarred from all active participation in their own government. Every opportunity was thus afforded to the local commercial agents of the Company, as well as to the Government officials, for furthering their private ends at the expense of the corporation and the country which employed them. Even had the Company not been virtually bankrupt when it was launched on its career, its ultimate failure was almost inevitable. Till its charter was modified in 1645 and to a less extent subsequently, it

was burdened with the care and expense of a system of colonial government not of its own devising. It was taxed to support a church whose ministers actively opposed—both in France and in the colony itself—its commercial policy. As a monopoly it was hated by the whole population, which thought it no sin to engage in illicit trade. The articles which it could export were few in number, and the furs which composed its most valuable resource were poached upon by foreign vessels in the gulf, and by the Dutch and English landward. It was carrying on its operations in northern seas, and upon a river where the risks of navigation are to this day considered extra hazardous—and all this during troublous times, when war was almost continuous, and when peace, if dependence were placed on it, might prove more dangerous to commerce than war itself.

The one hundred charter members had been reduced by death and debts to thirty-six, the resources of those who remained were greatly impaired, and things generally had been brought to so desperate a pass, that in 1660 the Company sent Peronne du Mesnil to investigate its affairs. He brought suit against all the local officials, but Mons. Gaudais, the Commissioner sent out in 1663 to take over possession of New France on behalf of the Crown, dismissed the several actions.*

On the 24th of February, 1663, the Company resigned its charter, and the King accepted the charge, with somewhat ungracious reflections on the shortcomings of the One Hundred Associates, which, had he been able to look forward to his own ill success as an administrator, he would have had some hesitation in making. Bishop Laval was at court at the time with his budget of charges against Governor d'Avaugour. Mazarin was dying; and Colbert was entering on power, impatient to rival his predecessor, the great Cardinal, as a colonial minister. The Bishop, having easily triumphed over d'Avaugour, returned to his diocese with a new Governor and a new constitution. The history of New France as a Crown Colony thus began in 1663.

The first administration under the new constitution, if that

* Mons. Sebastien Cramoisy, the famous printer of the *Relations*, was one of the incorporators.

can be called a constitution which gave no effectual representation to the rights of the people, was that of the Chevalier de Mézy. Though de Mézy's short rule was politically of small account, it was distinguished by a bitter quarrel between himself and his friend, the Bishop, over the liquor traffic and the imposition of tithes. The controversy reached such a pitch that the Bishop excommunicated the Governor, receiving him back into the Church only on his recanting his errors, just before his death. The quarrel convulsed the whole community. But the King, instead of seeking a corrective in some measure of moderate popular control, riveted new trammels of officialism on the submissive colonists, and increased the already excessive power of the Church. For, to replace the unfortunate de Mézy, there came out to govern the struggling and straggling population of 2,500 Frenchmen, scattered over the vast territory from Acadia to Lake Superior, a Lieutenant-General, representing His Majesty, a Governor, and an Intendant. So attenuated was the population that the very first decree of the King, as colonial ruler, was to cancel the title to all uncultivated lands, in the hopeless endeavor to concentrate the population and thus render it easier for them to defend themselves against the Iroquois. The plan, however, was impracticable and, though the order to enforce it was repeated, it seems not to have been carried out, even tentatively.*

To return to the constitution. The edict of Louis XIV. of April, 1663, constituted a Sovereign Council in imitation of the Council of State of the parent kingdom. It was to sit and deliberate in Quebec, unless the King ordered otherwise. Its members were to be de Mézy, as Governor for the time being, representing the King; Bishop Laval, or the principal ecclesiastic, whoever he might be, as representative of the Bishop; five councillors, to be chosen for one year by the Governor and the Bishop; and a *procureur*, empowered to administer oaths. The council was authorized to take cognizance of all cases, civil and criminal, following as nearly as possible the procedure of the Parliament of Paris. The King, however, reserved to himself the right of changing or

* Talon's Three Bourgs, near Quebec, were laid out as experimental defensive villages.

abrogating laws and ordinances at his good pleasure. The Council, besides being the highest court of appeal, was empowered to supervise the public finances, pass laws for the regulation of the traffic in furs with the Indians, as well as of interstate trade and commerce; to create and control a police force for the whole colony; and to establish courts and appoint judges of the first instance for the districts of Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal.*

The nomination of the first secretary of Council was vested in the Governor and the Bishop. The five councillors, though not elected by the people, were charged to keep themselves in touch with the people, and with popular needs, as brought to their notice by the syndics of the urban and village communities.

The new constitution possessed even less of a popular character than the provisional decree of 1647. It gave co-ordinate authority to ecclesiastical and civil chiefs, and became thus the source of endless confusion. It excluded the people from that faint trace of representation which, under the constitution of 1647, they enjoyed through the direct influence of the syndics in its deliberations. The constitution underwent a slight modification in 1675, not in the direction of greater popularization, but of greater centralization, through the growing influence of the Intendant, whose duty, as confidential agent of the Colonial Minister, was to act as

* Very strange cases came up in appeal before the Council. For instance, Louis Gaboury was condemned by the Judge of the Prévosté Court to pay a cow and its milk for one year, to be bound to the public post for three hours, and to be led to the door of the church of the Island of Orleans, where on his knees, with his hands joined and his head bared, he had to ask pardon of God, the King and the law for having eaten meat during Lent without permission of the Church. In addition he was condemned to pay a penalty of twenty francs, to be applied to works of piety and to the cost of defraying the expenses of said parish. The sentence was slightly mitigated on appeal to the Sovereign Council.

According to Ferland, there are on the Sovereign Council only three or four suits against persons accused of sacrilege. In 1669 two soldiers were accused of carrying about their persons symbols accounted to be magical, and of having used them for improper purposes. They were condemned to pay a fine and to suffer imprisonment, the Council further decreeing that they should be taught the error of their ways—a decidedly milder course than putting them to death, which would at one time have been done in New England. An interesting case is quoted by Chauveau in his Memoir on the Sovereign Council: the wife of Jacques Fournier was accused of irreverence in printing a petition to Frontenac against the *procureur* of the Jesuits, couched in burlesque language, partly in prose and partly in verse. The Governor enjoyed the joke and replied in the same strain, but this did not protect her from prosecution and fine; though, at the intercession of the Governor, the fine was turned over to her children.

a check on the Governor, in case the latter might be inclined to yield to local influences. In 1675, the King, after preluding his edict by announcing the abolition of the Company of the West Indies, and the entire and absolute assumption of the government by himself, added to the number of councillors designated by the Edict of 1663, the Intendant and two additional members, assigning to the Intendant the third place in the council chamber, and appointing him its President. Duchesneau was the Intendant sent out in that year. The quarrels which then arose as to precedence between him and Frontenac were even more acrimonious than any between the Governor and the Bishop. This controversy waxed hottest in 1679-1680, till it was settled that the Governor, should receive his full title of Governor and Lieutenant-General, but not that of Chief and President of the Council; and Duchesneau that of Intendant of Justice, Police and Finance, and that the Intendant, as commanded by His Majesty in 1675, should fill the seat and fulfil the function of President of the Council. Frontenac had come out as Governor in 1672, when Talon was still Intendant. One of his first acts illustrates the conflict between his own ideas of what was good for the colony and those of the King. Believing he could popularize the government and advance the interests of the colony by convoking a representative assembly of the clergy, nobility, judiciary and commons, to discuss public affairs, after the manner of the States General, he summoned such a parliament accordingly, and it met in the church of the Jesuits. The Intendant, Talon, with admirable caution, absented himself on the plea of indisposition. He had a suspicion that the action of the impulsive Count would not meet with the approval of their royal master. He was right, for in reply to a dispatch reporting what he had done the Governor received something very like a reprimand from the Minister, who reminded him that the King had ceased to convoke the *États Généraux*, instructing him at the same time, not only to refuse all demands by the people for popular representation, but even to suppress the election of all syndics, if that could be done without exciting popular commotion. The new constitution was far, therefore, from being drawn on popular lines.

The independent, almost rebellious, bearing of England's colonies towards the mother country offered a warning to Colbert and his master, Louis, to keep their own colonies well in check. In obedience to this policy a year was spent in framing a constitution for a Company that, in theory, was to avoid all the errors of the preceding ones. In a long preamble the King explained that, as the Company of the One Hundred Associates had failed, and had consented to the cancellation of its charter, on condition of being reimbursed certain of its losses, he declared created the Company of the West Indies, which is to absorb the Company of the Terra Firma of America, and its fleet, and to be composed of shareholders whose operations will embrace the west coast of Africa, South America between the Amazon and the Orinoco, Acadia, Newfoundland and Canada. The commercial exploitation of these regions is only the secondary object of their organization; the first is the Christianization of the native tribes. To this end the Company must transport and maintain enough priests to convert the Indians to the Catholic Apostolic Roman religion, and must also build churches. All the subjects of the King, as well as foreigners, might become shareholders, and nobles would not lose dignity or privileges by investing in its securities. The minimum subscription was 3,000 livres. Those subscribing 10,000 to 20,000 livres might vote. Those subscribing more than 20,000 might be elected to the directorate, and be entitled to the rank of *bourgeois* in whatever town they lived. Foreigners investing the sum of 20,000 francs in the Company would be entitled to the right of French citizenship while stockholders, and, if they retained their interest for twenty years, might become Frenchmen without taking out letters of naturalization, and their relations would inherit. The head office was to be in Paris, and the number of directors nine. The Company was granted exclusive privileges of trading within the sphere of its operations, and all ships and their cargoes trading illegally within these limits were subject to confiscation. A bounty of 30 livres was promised on each ton of merchandise imported into the colonies, and 40 livres for each ton exported to France in the Company's ships. Goods admitted to France in the Company's ships could be ex-

ported to foreign countries without paying export duty. The Company was endowed, like its predecessor, with all the rights and privileges of seigneurs in all new countries which it might conquer during the forty years of its charter, as well as over the whole vast territory designated above, the King reserving only *foi et hommage* as liege, which the Company must render on the succession of each king with a gold crown of the weight of thirty marks. But while enjoying seignorial rights the Company might deed its land, contrary to the feudal custom in any part of France. The Company might work mines without paying the crown any royalty, build forts, manufacture implements of war, levy troops for defence, and equip vessels of war. The Company might nominate Governors for confirmation by the King, and make treaties of offence and defence with the kings and princes of the colonies—the chiefs of the red and black men. The appointment of judges and nomination of the members of the Sovereign Council was vested in the Council subject to confirmation by the King. The legal code to be used was the *Coutume de Paris*. As an inducement to the savages to adopt Christianity, their conversion would entitle them to French citizenship, and artisans who had worked in the colony for ten consecutive years were to be reputed *Maîtres de Chefs d'Oeuvres* throughout the kingdom. To assist the Company the King lent it, without interest, ten per cent of its capital stock. Of many of these privileges the Company never availed itself—among others the privilege of nominating the members of the Council; but their chief clerk occupied a seat in the Council next to the Intendant.

The stock of the Company thus royally patronized was readily subscribed, and within six months a fleet of over forty vessels was armed and equipped; but in less than three years the whole capital had been absorbed in part payment of previous rights and by losses. In November, 1667, the balance due on the islands of the Antilles was 620,000 livres, and on current account 300,000, while the fleet, through the loss of ships at the hands of the English and by accident, had been reduced to thirty-two, the largest of which was only of 400 tons burden. Such a protest was raised against the monopoly in France, that the King was induced to

curtail certain of the privileges, but others were accorded in their stead. Nevertheless, by 1672 the Company was hopelessly ruined and in debt 3,523,000 francs. A commission was then appointed to report on its condition, and to advise. The advice was to wind up the old concern and to create another company whose operations should be restricted to Senegal. The King remitted the loan made to the old Company; returned the shareholders the original value of their shares; assumed possession of, and absolute dominion over, all the territory which had been covered by the Company's trading privileges and administrative control; and threw the trade of the Antilles and Canada open to his subjects. This, however, was far from meaning free trade in the modern sense.

Before the West India Company went into bankruptcy, the King, who had assumed the government of the Colony, determined to make effective provision for its administration and protection. To conquer the Iroquois, he sent out troops under the command of Alexandre de Prouville, Marquis de Tracy, who, as Lieutenant-General, was to represent him in his South American, West Indian and Canadian possessions; but it was understood that he would only hold this pre-eminent office for a short period, or until things had quieted down in Canada. Mons. de Courcelle was appointed as Governor and Mons. Talon as Intendant. Talon had won experience and distinction as Intendant of Hainaut, and proved to be one of the best administrators ever sent to Canada. The Marquis de Tracy had left France the autumn previous with four companies of the Carignan-Salières Regiment, but, as his instructions required him to take over Cayenne from the Dutch, he visited the West Indies before proceeding to Canada, where he landed on June 30th, 1665. The four companies of his troops, and others to the total number of 1,200, landed during the course of the summer, officered by men who have attached their names to Canadian geography, such as Mm. de Salière, de Repentigny, de Sorel and de Berthier. One of the first official acts of the Lieutenant-General was to have the edict establishing the West India Company registered by the Sovereign Council, thus inaugurating the operation of the new Company. The Governor and

Intendant arrived at the seat of their government on the 12th September, 1665.

With the arrival in Quebec of high officials, representing the august majesty of Louis XIV., and faintly reflecting the glories of his court, accompanied, moreover, by a garrison of from 1,000 to 1,200 men of the great monarch's army, including four companies of one of the most distinguished of his regiments, which had fought and conquered over all Europe, from Italy to the Netherlands, and from the Atlantic to the Adriatic; with the creation of the Sovereign Council, modeled after the King's Council of State, but exercising in addition the functions of the Parliament of Paris; with the prospect in the near future of the erection of the Apostolic Vicarate into the Bishopric of Quebec, and the organization of a cathedral chapter; and with the recent addition of a theological seminary to the large college already possessed by the Jesuits, Quebec had sprung from the rank of a village to the dignity and dimensions of a town.

Nevertheless, despite all these special advantages, it did not prosper commercially or grow in population. Talon gives the population of Canada in 1666 as 3,568, distributed as follows:

Quebec	678
Beaupré	555
Beauport	172
Island of Orleans.....	471
St. Jean François, St. Michel.....	156
Sillery	217
Notre Dame des Anges and St. Charles...	118
Côte Lauzon	6
Montreal	584
Three Rivers	461
<hr/>	
Total.....	3,418

In the following year he gives as the population of all New France 4,312, of whom 1,566 were capable of bearing arms, 88 were young men of marriageable age, 55 unmarried girls over fourteen years of age. There were 11,174 acres of land under

cultivation, and 2,136 horned cattle. Horses were still rare. One had been given to Governor Montmagny in 1647, and we do not read of any others being shipped to Canada till 1665, when twelve were brought out by Mons. Bourdon, who had gone to France to protest against Governor de Mézy's arbitrary actions. It was not Talon's fault that so little progress was made. He believed in the possibilities of the country, and pleaded for colonists and for funds. But Colbert's reply was not encouraging. The King, he said, refused to depopulate France in order to people Canada. In truth, if one-fourth of the men he sacrificed, first and last, to his insatiate ambition in war could have been induced to emigrate, they would have settled the Iroquois question and other still larger problems. He did, however, spare some money and men; but so much of his time was spent in deciding trivialities altogether beyond the reach of his knowledge and experience, that he could not help exaggerating to his own mind his efforts on behalf of Canada. This explains probably how it was that ten years afterwards he told Frontenac that he could not believe that there were only 7,832 souls in all Canada, because he had sent a greater number than that himself to the colony during the previous fifteen years. Everyone, however, was making calculations, and the King may have confounded the Bishop's calculation as to the fecundity of the population with the Intendant's actual return, for the King in 1672 wrote to Talon that the Mons. de Laval assured him that "there will be 1,100 births next year." The King's response to Talon's appeal for aid was substantially that he needed every Frenchman able to carry arms as food for powder, but that, for that very reason, there were plenty of marriageable girls to spare, notwithstanding that he had already sent many lusty wenches to Canada. The young women referred to certainly brought their virtues and their charms to an active market, for Colbert in 1671 expresses the King's pleasure at hearing that of the 165 shipped the year previous, only sixteen remained unmated. The poor bachelors, in fact, had no other choice than to marry, for unless, within fifteen days after the arrival of a batch of girls, they chose a partner, their license to hunt was cancelled. What wonder

that many of them preferred to choose a squaw at will instead of taking a wife of their own nation under compulsion?

To encourage marriage the King was willing to spare a trifle from the wealth he lavished on his own illegitimate children. By an ordinance of 1676 parents with ten or more children born in wedlock, and not vowed to celibacy, were granted an annual allowance of 300 livres, and an additional sum of 20 livres for each girl or boy at the date of their marriage. A list exists of fifty young couples to each of which a marriage dot of fifty francs was given by the King. Nevertheless, despite persuasion and coercion, the total population in the year 1681 had only increased to 9,666, and that of Quebec to 1,345. The colony of Virginia was founded in 1607, only one year before Champlain established Quebec as a trading post, and by 1642 it contained 15,000 whites and 300 negroes. New England, though only twenty-two years old, contained 26,000 souls. The slower progress of Canada as compared with the English seaboard colonies may at first sight be attributed to the same climatic and geographic causes as operate to-day in retarding the progress of Quebec. But Louisiana was in many respects as favorably situated as Virginia, yet it lagged far behind her in growth. One must seek the explanation elsewhere, and no one reason will perhaps suffice. Rigid bureaucracy in politics, monopoly in trade, ultramontanist in religion, and interference by the Church, both in politics and in domestic life, all combined to make the colony unpopular in France. The exclusion of the Huguenots is not an adequate explanation. It is doubtful whether they would have emigrated to Canada, even if permitted. Very few took refuge after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in New England. Puritan rigidity was not attractive to them. England, under William and Mary, was a more congenial home than America. Many of the Reformers wandered in search of liberty far away to the little Dutch colony of the Cape of Good Hope, where the Jouberts and the Du Plessis still retain, not only the names of their forefathers, but their ancestral stern opinions and indomitable determination and courage. Nevertheless, the restrictions of personal liberty in New France seem not only to

have prevented immigration to Canada, but to have driven settlers out of New France back to the motherland, for that there was a steady reflux the official correspondence conclusively demonstrates. Even had New France been founded on the same principles as New England and Virginia, Frenchmen, unless of the reformed faith, and driven out by persecution, would not have been any more willing to leave old France in the seventeenth century than they are in the twentieth.* Had Canada been a refuge for the Huguenots, as New England was for the Puritan, and had the home government not interfered in the development of the country, we might possibly have seen a new nationality created in the Western World, which, retaining Gallic characteristics, would have developed a type of national existence as different from that of Old France as the New England type now differs from that of Old England. It was not to be. New France was destined to stagger under the weight of Old France's political and ecclesiastical rule until she sank under the burden.

Still, to be just, it must be admitted that Canada lacked New England's splendid opportunities for commerce. The Puritan came to the sterile shores of Massachusetts for gain as well as for conscience sake, and he soon learned that it was more profitable to turn his attention to trade than to agriculture, for the crops which the bleak land yielded were scanty compared with the rich reward to be reaped from sea-going traffic. The French of the St. Lawrence, even if they could have defied the navigation laws of the land as arrogantly and successfully as the New Englanders did those of England, could not escape being icebound for half the year, nor do away with the fact that they were planted two hundred leagues from the ocean. The command of the St. Lawrence gave France the opportunity of controlling the heart of the continent, but she forfeited all the advantage which this magnificent position gave her by not fighting, as she should have done, for an ocean outlet in the beginning. Virginia and New England instinctively appreciated their advantage and her weakness

* While we need not adopt Balzac's theory that the Englishman is an emigrant because he is in a hurry to get away from his odious island, we can understand the unwillingness of the Frenchman to leave a land that possesses all the attractions of every other.

when they so persistently attacked her seaboard, and drove her first from Acadia and Newfoundland, and then from Cape Breton.

The Marquis de Tracy who had supreme control as Lieutenant-General of the King, and commanded in person the campaign against the Iroquois in 1666, returned to France in 1667. In his administrative capacity he seems to have interfered as little as possible with the actions of the Governor, de Courcelle, and the Intendant. The latter had not been a month in the colony before he published a tariff fixing the price of merchandise and the value of beaver skins, the only currency used for purposes of barter. The dearest article was brandy—140 livres the barrel. A white Normandy blanket the trader might exchange for six beaver skins, while one skin was to be counted worth two pounds of powder or one pound of lead. A barrel of Indian corn was valued at six skins. De Tracy probably recognized that his mission was not to regulate prices, but to reconcile the civil and ecclesiastical powers of the colony, and conquer or restrain the Iroquois confederacy. While in Canada he succeeded in repressing the impatience of Courcelle under ecclesiastical interference, but it was quite beyond his power to establish any rules adequate to prevent friction under later administrations. He was an old man of over sixty, yet he conducted in person a decisive campaign against the Mohawks in the autumn of the year following his arrival, which dispelled from the Iroquois mind any hopes which Courcelle's ill-advised winter campaign may have excited.

In these campaigns the Canadian militia first displayed that wonderful endurance and courage which has ever since characterized it, and exhibited such soldierly qualities that the men of the Carignan-Salières regiment did not think it derogatory to treat them as comrades. The campaign was bloodless, but was none the less effective in demonstrating to the Indians the power of France and her ability to take the offensive. De Tracy had the satisfaction, the winter before he sailed, of making a peace with the Mohawks, which secured tranquillity to the colony for several years.

CHAPTER XX.

The Intendant Talon, Commercial Activity, and Territorial Expansion.

During the period from 1665 until Frontenac appeared on the scene in 1672, Talon is the most conspicuous figure in Canada. Even when temporarily in France, and represented in Canada by Mons. de Boutonville, his personal influence was paramount, and overshadowed that of the Governor, the Bishop and the Council. His tact and recognition of the Bishop's and the Jesuits' services prevented their publicly opposing him on account of his Gallican tendencies, and saved the people of Quebec from the unedifying spectacle of endless bickering in high places, and himself from waste of time and energy in quarreling over trifles. He could thus devote his talents to an intelligent effort to discover other resources in the country than hunting, or despoiling the Indians who did the hunting. He probably first conceived dimly, as the West was reached and rumors of the Mississippi country floated about him, the policy subsequently adopted by Frontenac, of encircling the English colonies in a ring of French posts, and thus shutting them in between the sea and the Alleghenies. The policy is usually represented as that of the French government: it was rather that of the far-sighted Frenchman whom Colbert sent out than of the central power itself.

Nevertheless, to judge by the instructions given to him in Paris, and bearing date March 27th, 1665, it was intended that his first care should be to hold the balance between the temporal and ecclesiastical authorities—the latter represented by the Bishop and the Jesuits—in such a manner that the ecclesiastical power should be subordinate to the civil in the management of affairs. He was advised, however, as the Jesuits had not only local knowledge and influence, but the correspondence and min-



Talon.

utes of the council, to wheedle out of them all they could give or tell, without exciting their suspicions.

During Talon's second administration he was instructed to use the Recollets and the Sulpicians as a buffer against the pretensions of the Jesuits. By the same mail Colbert wrote to Bishop Laval, the Jesuits' friend, assuring him of the King's high esteem, and flattering him with the declaration that the colony had had no life until he devoted himself to its welfare.

While Talon was keeping the peace in the official household, he was marking the passage of Canada from the control of a trading company to that of the government, by inducing the people to engage in manufacturing, so as to be, not importers, but exporters, of such things as the soil was capable of producing. Wheat was already raised in excess of home consumption, and was exported. Vaudreuil gives the exportation of flour in 1709 as 958,955 pounds, while lumber, which had always been an article of export, was shipped in large quantities. We find Talon begging that a millwright may be sent out capable of erecting sawmills. As a subordinate industry to lumbering and clearing of the soil, the making of crude potash from wood-ashes had always been practiced, and the export of black ash was now beginning. A tannery was started, and shipbuilding on a scale not heretofore attempted was giving employment to the Quebec carpenters. Colbert congratulated Talon in 1671 on the fact that three ships of home build had sailed with cargoes from Canada to the West Indies; and Father Dablon, in the preface to his *Relation* of 1671-1672, speaks of a 500 ton ship being under construction, and of one still larger being designed. Cod fishing and sealing on the river were stimulated by the right of entering cured fish into France and selling it at the same rate as though a product of the mother country. Even mining was not neglected. The titaniferous iron ores of Baie St. Paul were examined by a Mons. de la Tesserie, but, though existing in large quantities, they were wisely left untouched. The more fusible bog ores of the St. Maurice were reported on favorably by the *Sieur la Potardière* in 1668. Though Frontenac wrote strongly in favor of the building of a forge, and though his successor, Denonville, reiterated the advice,

over fifty years elapsed before one was erected and iron made in New France. There was no little excitement over the report that silver-bearing galena had been found in Gaspé Basin, but nothing came of it. Not so, however, regarding the discovery of copper on Lake Superior. The use of malleable copper by the Indians had early been observed by the Europeans, and rumors of its existence in the native state had reached the Intendant even before Father Dablon, in the Relation of 1670, described the famous copper mass on the Lake Shore. Talon some time before this had sent Jean Peré, a Quebec merchant, who was willing to travel far in search of trade, to Lake Superior with Joliet to look for copper, and had received from him an enthusiastic report on his discoveries. As for Joliet the atmosphere of the West had inspired him with a higher motive than gain; he was now seized by that passion for exploration which was destined to render him the joint discoverer, with Father Marquette, of the route from the Lakes to the Mississippi.

All this activity centered in Quebec, where, instead of a solitary ship or two, bringing the mails and stores, and returning with peltries and a few sticks of timber, a fleet of eleven ships rode at anchor in the summer of 1668. The trade of the port continued subsequently to increase until Lower Canada became one of the granaries of Europe, and its principal source of lumber. In other respects as well the town grew in importance and activity, as French influence extended over the West, and Frenchmen, if not the government of Versailles, began dimly to appreciate the destiny which hovered over the continent, of which they would have had chief control, had fate only so willed, and had those money-making, restless and tenacious nation-builders on the other side of the Alleghenies not stood in their way.

With the able rulers sent out when France assumed the reins of government, there arrived in Quebec many a notable character whose name still clings to the soil of what is now for Frenchmen a foreign land, though few of those who tread that soil ever identify the scenes around them with the heroes by whom the primeval wilderness was first penetrated and made known. La

Salle, with its zinc furnaces; Joliet, with its glowing steel works; De Pere, in Wisconsin; Duluth, all alive with its railroads, docks and huge lake steamers and their consorts; Marquette, now better known as a shipping port for Michigan iron than as the name of one of the most saintly of the saints; all these places immortalize in their names the deeds of men who made these closing years of the seventeenth century memorable in the history of the New World.

These men and many others congregated and made their plans in the little town of Quebec, whence they scattered to do their work. Some were fired with religious zeal, caught from their associations with the Seminary, the Jesuit College, or the Recollet Monastery. Others had imbibed the enthusiasm of Talon and Frontenac, and saw visions of wealth for themselves and of glory to France from the possession of the vast interior of the great continent, which, the further it was penetrated, revealed ever more majestic natural features, in lakes that were inland seas, river after river of wondrous length, prairies of boundless extent and fertility, stretching to the base of mountains described to be of fabulous height, and which might hide in their depths, as they were afterwards found to do, treasures such as had raised Spain to the pinnacle of wealth and grandeur.

As this amazing panorama was unrolled before the missionaries, the pioneers and *coureurs de bois*, who met in the churches, the taverns and the châteaux of old Quebec, there was created one of those furores of exploration which seize on whole communities, rouse its most ardent spirits to action, and usher in the great cycles of geographical discovery. Could Louis XIV. have looked with the eye of imagination on the American continent, and allowed himself to catch a spark of the enthusiasm which inspired some of his servants in the New World, events might have taken a very different turn. As it was, he simply looked with arrogant indifference on foreign trade, and on the inroads which England was making on his commerce, though the broader mind of Colbert, justly regarded trade as the mainspring of national greatness and prosperity. The King's opinion was candidly, if not very intelli-

gently, expressed when he wrote: "If the English would only be satisfied with being traders and let us be conquerors, an arrangement could be easily arrived at. We should be quite content with one-fourth of the world's commerce and concede to her the rest." France, nevertheless, thanks, to a large extent, to the industry and intelligence of the minister, became the world's workshop for artistic products, and has remained so ever since. To the energy of the same untiring worker, spurred by the ambition of his royal master, must be attributed the building up of the French navy, as it were by magic. Unfortunately, so absorbed was the King by war and the machinery necessary for its prosecution, and so proud was he of domestic France, with its palaces and its factories, which he saw springing up under the wand of his patronage, that he had neither money nor time to bestow on what, had he been able to see a little further into the future, he would have recognized, to be not merely New France, but Greater France.

During this period of territorial and commercial expansion, the Church was as active as ever, and the rivalry of its several orders helped, rather than hindered, missionary work. There was competition in the work of saving souls, openly hostile in character, between the Jesuit and Recollet bodies, and friendly between the Jesuits, the priests of the Quebec Seminary and the Sulpicians of Montreal, the questions chiefly in debate being as to their respective spheres of action and influence among the aborigines. The zeal of the clergy, it must be admitted, was scarcely more free from the alloy of jealousy than that of the laity. The Recollets, as we know, were brought over by Talon to checkmate the Jesuits. The priests of the Seminary were not as cordial towards the Jesuit College on the other side of the market place as Bishop Laval was to its Superior; while the Jesuits, on their side, regarding all New France and Louisiana as their rightful field of operations, resented the interference of the barefooted Friars, and did not view with favor the missionary efforts even of the Seminary priests and Sulpicians. The secular clergy, not without reason, opposed the encroachment of the regulars on their parish preserves; and finally the Recollets, fully reciprocating the dislike of



La Salle.

the Jesuits, did not scruple to charge them with exaggerating the success of their holy endeavors among the aborigines as a help towards securing financial and political aid in France.

In the early summer of 1675 a cargo of very diverse humanity sailed from France for Canada. Laval, now Bishop of Quebec and no friend to the Recollet Fathers, was on board, together with the bustling, egotistical Recollet Friar, Father Hennepin, and a man of very different character, already known in Canada, and destined to become famous as perhaps the most daring and original of all the explorers of the Great West, Sieur Robert Cavelier de La Salle. There were also among the passengers a number of girls going to the colony in search of husbands. The gallant Cavelier, though educated, as Hennepin asserts, for the priesthood in a Jesuit college, and the merry girls broke the tedium of the voyage by dancing and revelry, but as these pastimes were indulged in under the eye of the Bishop they cannot have been very shocking. Nevertheless they called forth the severest reprimand from the Friar, who, like many another pious person, was willing to "compound for sins he was inclined to by damning those he had no mind to." To the good Friar lying was a venial offence, dancing a deadly sin. Long after La Salle was dead the Friar tried to rob him of the credit of his discoveries. He pretended, moreover, that La Salle had sent him to what he expected would be his death in return for the scoldings he had given him for unseemly levity on that otherwise unmemorable voyage. In reality La Salle had merely given him an opportunity to achieve a little greatness on his own account.

This was not the first time La Salle had crossed the ocean, but it was now that he was to begin that heroic effort to forestall the English trade in the Illinois country, and to win for France the Mississippi from its source to the Delta. Under the influence of his protector, Frontenac, he chose Recollets rather than Jesuits for the religious side of his expedition. The youth and the energy of that sanctimonious busybody, Father Hennepin, recommended him as one of the missionaries of the party, but fortunately another of the same fraternity, Father Zénobe Membré, accompanied the expedition, and has left a memoir of his chief's explorations, as

conspicuous for its modesty as Hennepin's story is remarkable for the reverse.

Though Louis XIV. had warned Talon and Frontenac to concentrate their limited forces, rather than scatter them, and in pursuance of this policy to discourage western exploration and trade expansion both Intendant and Governor virtually defied, on this point, the instructions of the monarch. They were confident of their own better judgment, and knew that the Court could not control their actions at so great a distance from the seat of authority. Frontenac doubtless believed that he could rely on the support of the colonial minister, Colbert; and, in any case, he felt that it was vain to resist the impulse which was carrying French Canada westward and southward along the great waterways of the continent. In 1679-1680 the Sulpicians, Dollier and Gallinée, explored and mapped the north shore of Lake Erie, and in the following year St. Lussou, La Salle and Nicholas Perrot were commissioned to explore the West, and establish trading posts, which they did, with the assistance of the Jesuit Fathers who had preceded them, at Michillimackinac, Ste. Marie and elsewhere. Marquette and Joliet had reached the Mississippi by way of Green Bay and the Wisconsin River. Dulhut reached it and the Sioux country from the western end of Lake Superior. Hennepin had met Dulhut while ascending the river from the mouth of the Illinois, and at length, after disappointments and failures that would have broken the spirit of any other man, La Salle carried out his scheme for exploring the country of the Illinois and Ohio, and reached the sea by way of the Mississippi. These expeditions—all undertaken probably at private expense—were an outcome of the greater freedom of trade which was granted after the dissolution of the West India Company. They expressed the spirit of nationality which the new constitution, devoid though it was of popular features, and the passage of government from the company to the crown, had excited. At the same time they also brought wealth to Quebec, as the furs from those new posts in the distant West contributed their share to the trade of the port, and otherwise stimulated the life of the place.

Quebec, however, was also keenly interested in operations

nearer home which shed lustre on the Canadian militia, a race of soldiers which has become famous in the annals of irregular warfare.

Newfoundland, which commanded the mouth of the St. Lawrence, was a perpetual menace to the chief towns and ports of the St. Lawrence as long as it was held in hostile hands. The Canadians of New France recognized the important strategic position of the tenth greatest island of the world more accurately than the Dominion does to-day; and Iberville, by his dashing campaign and his capture of St. John's, should have stimulated France to make an effort to maintain permanent and complete possession of the island.

But the Hudson Bay question, as we shall see in a later chapter, assumed greater importance to the mercantile community of Quebec than even the possession of Newfoundland. To defend the rights of France in that region also the Canadian militia were called into active service, and responded with cheerfulness and promptitude; for the French Canadian, unlike his English neighbors, never devoted himself heart and soul to trade or agriculture. He loved pleasure and he loved war, and therefore made a good soldier. Previous to the arrival of the Carignan-Salières Regiment in 1665, but few regular troops had been sent to Canada from time to time, and the people had consequently been compelled to defend themselves. As early as 1649 the militia forces had been organized, but the regular militia establishment of Canada dates from a later period. In the census of 1679 there are enumerated 1,800 guns and 169 pistols. As there were then about the same number of Canadian families as of firearms, the inference is that one member of every family at any rate was enrolled for military service. The militia, as organized by Talon, Courcelle and Frontenac, remains a more or less effective offensive and defensive force to our own day, when the law requires every man to be a soldier. The flagpole which has ever since distinguished the rallying point of the village militia was then first raised in front of the captain's house, "*capitaine de côte*," but the habitant is not now so often called on to drop his spade and shoulder his musket for

actual warfare as in the days when he sprang to the summons of a Le Moyne d'Iberville.

The efficiency of the militia was improved by infusion into it of the spirit and discipline of the old soldiers of the Carignan-Salières regiment, and of contingents of other regiments which were encouraged to, and did actually, settle, in Canada and join the militia. There were sent to Canada between 1665 and the end of the century about 4,000 men as King's soldiers, but probably at no one time were there over 2,000 in the colony. Many of the rank and file were mustered out in Canada and became Canadians, while a number of the officers accepted large grants of land as seignories.

The Iroquois no longer invaded the lower St. Lawrence, but the Richelieu, the Ottawa, and the posts and mission stations on the Lakes needed protection; consequently the larger portion of the scanty force available was scattered west of Quebec, a small garrison, not more than sufficient to give dignity to the Governor's position, being retained at the seat of government. The census of 1681 gives the number of soldiers in the Château as only twenty-one—no more than a corporal's guard.

CHAPTER XXI.

Frontenac as Governor.

De Courcelle, as we have related, came out as the first Governor after the charter of the Company of One Hundred Associates was dissolved. Though he had the strong head and hand of Talon to guide him, his health broke down under the worry and fatigue of war and negotiation with Indian foes as dangerous in the one as they were treacherous in the other. Louis de Buade, Comte de Pallua et Frontenac, was appointed to succeed him in 1672. No Governor of Canada under the French regime, made so many enemies as the great Count, yet none has ever won in so large a measure the confidence and admiration of the colonists. When he obtained, as a reward for thirty years of active military service, the Governorship of New France, he was still in the prime of life; for he had received his first commission in 1637, when a lad of seventeen, and he was now fifty-two years of age. During his military career in Europe he had risen to the rank of field officer, and fought in Flanders, Germany and Italy. His last campaign was in Crete, which he was unable to save from falling into the hands of the Turk. Three years afterwards, transported to the Western World, he was devising schemes to frustrate a very different but no less wily foe, the Iroquois; and his genius is conspicuous in the versatility with which he could abandon the military lessons of a lifetime and adapt himself to the wholly dissimilar conditions of Indian warfare. But though he left his tactics behind him when he came to Canada, he did not leave his personal characteristics, one of which was an arbitrary and violent temper, which the habit of military command and the sufferings and vicissitudes of a soldier's life had not done anything to soften. Such a temper, it need hardly be said, was not likely to aid him in the delicate task which had proved to be beyond the capacity of his predecessors, of maintaining a just equilibrium between the civil and the eccles-

iaistical power. The Intendant, Talon, was still in office when Frontenac arrived in 1672; but as he left soon afterwards, Frontenac found himself in undisputed control of both civil and military affairs, saving the possible interference of the Court. The colony was so near bankruptcy that no one but a trained economist endowed with independent control, could have rescued it, or have reconciled the interests of the West India Company with the prosperity of the people and the welfare of the State. But if camp life had not made of Frontenac a statesman or financier, it did train him to become the saviour of Canada at a crisis in her history when absolute confidence in his own judgment and unshaken courage in carrying out his policy were needed to impress on the enemies of France in America, both savage and civilized, respect for her military strength, and to infuse into the disheartened colonists a spirit of nationality and an ardor for territorial expansion.

He conducted no important campaign against the English or the Iroquois during his first administration, yet by the force of his character, by his natural gift of oratory, supplemented by picturesque and significant gesture—language, he so impressed the Iroquois, during the great peace conference at Montreal in 1680, with awe and respect that they refrained from any overt act of barbarity till after his recall in 1682. His removal was due to irritation at Versailles over the constant friction between himself and the Bishop, with whom the Intendant, Duchesneau, generally sided. Talon had sailed away after Courcelle, and Frontenac was unhampered by any civil colleague for three years. During this period Bishop Laval was absent in France, to secure the erection of his episcopal charge into an independent diocese, and his own appointment as Bishop of Quebec. In his absence his functions, civil and ecclesiastical, were committed to MM. Dudouyt and de Bernières, as vicars apostolic, who did their best to maintain the asserted rights of the Church against infringement by the Governor. But it was not till Laval himself returned as Bishop of Quebec in September, 1675, after an absence of nearly four years, accompanied by a new Intendant, Duchesneau, who had been thoroughly indoctrinated with the idea that his principal duty was

to be a spy and a check on the Governor, that the controversy between Church and State was supplemented by a bitter feud between the Governor and his civil colleague. This at length grew so tiresome to the King and so detrimental to the interests of the colony that both Governor and Intendant were recalled in 1682, and a poor substitute for Frontenac was sent out in the person of old Mons. Pierre de la Barre, while Jacques de Meulles replaced Duchesneau. The chief incident in Governor de la Barre's administration was an abortive campaign against the Iroquois—the Senecas being the special objects of attack on account of their hostility to the Illinois, who, mainly through the explorations and trading operations of La Salle, had become allies of the French. Then a treaty was made, which met with reprobation in the colony and such emphatic disapproval in France that, in his instructions to Marquis Denonville, de la Barre's successor, the King regretfully remarks that he had chosen Mons. de la Barre to put an end to the dissensions between the Governor and the Intendant, and he now recalls him on account of his great age and the shameful peace he had condescended to make with the Iroquois.

Denonville fared worse than his predecessor, for though he gained notable advantages over the Iroquois, he was unable to defend the colony against the measures of revenge taken by the foe upon the settlers on the Richelieu and at Montreal, and on the Indian allies of France. Quebec and its vicinity did not suffer directly from these Iroquois attacks, but trade and all internal progress were arrested, and the colony was brought to the very verge of ruin. Even the fort at Cataraqui, the stronghold which Frontenac first built, and which La Salle rebuilt and maintained, and on which the defense of the West so largely depended, was dismantled and abandoned.

Meanwhile, in 1685, as the King states in a memorandum to Mons. de Meulles, seeing that Mons. de la Barre had been unable to settle the difficulty with Bishop Laval regarding the status and remuneration of the curés, he had accepted the Bishop's resignation, and appointed the Chevalier Mons. de Saint Vallier in his place.

Frontenac's chief clerical opponent, having thus no longer a seat in the Council, and the place of his incompatible colleague, Duchesneau, being now filled by Jean Bochart de Champigny, the way was open for sending back the Count to Canada as the one man who could save the colony by his personal prowess and renown without assistance from France—for the King would promise nothing. The people were at one with the King and his councilors in regarding Frontenac as their only possible deliverer, and so when he landed in Quebec for the second time, in October, 1689, though there was no parade or noisy rejoicing—for the town was too dispirited for hilarity—he was greeted with what was more flattering still to the grand old veteran, a visible resurrection of hope and confidence among all classes. War, famine, pestilence and poverty had chased each other from end to end of the colony, and now all were to be banished under the influence of the mighty name of Frontenac.

The flight of James II. and the accession to the throne of William and Mary had produced acute changes in the relation of the French and English crowns and colonies. De Callières, Governor of Montreal, propounded a radical plan of campaign for settling the Iroquois question, namely, to conquer New York; but, before that was accomplished, the English applied the same radical treatment to the Abenaki question by attempting to capture Quebec. Sir William Phipps, having taken Port Royal in May, 1690, appeared before Quebec on October 16, with thirty-two ships and over 2,000 men. The news of his approach reached Frontenac in Montreal, where he was holding a pow-wow and giving a great feast to his Western Indian allies. He was winning their hearts by dancing their dances and sharing their unpalatable cookery; but he hurried back to Quebec, and de Callières, the Governor of Montreal, followed so expeditiously with 800 regular and irregular troops that he arrived only two days after his commander, his men marching down the Grand Allée in such high spirits that their shouts could be heard on the hostile ships. That same day Phipps sent his peremptory summons to Frontenac to surrender. He had imitated, when framing it, a similar document sent by Kirke to Champlain; but conditions, as well as men, had changed. Phipps'

challenge reads like burlesque in the light of the ignominious failure of his expedition. Nevertheless, in defending the town in its hour of danger, Frontenac displayed not only military skill, but great fertility of resource. We read that when Sir William Phipps' messenger was led blindfolded up the steep road from the landing into the tumble-down Château, the few inhabitants of the town jostled the poor fellow as though they had been a multitude, which the narrow road could not contain. The handful of soldiers meanwhile, with their drummer and trumpeter, passed and repassed before and behind the blind, bewildered herald, like the army in a play where men march and countermarch through the wings of a stage. When the envoy was unbandaged and allowed to read his message, mercifully offering advantageous terms of surrender, he found himself in a room of the old Château which showed no signs of being a tottering building, surrounded by a crowd of officers in their best uniforms, who confirmed the gallant Marquis's haughty reply by their well-acted, contemptuous gestures. Frontenac said haughtily that he did not need the hour for deliberation offered by the Admiral of the rebel King William, and indignantly refused to send any other reply to the summons to surrender than shot from the mouths of his cannon.

The defences of Quebec in men and guns were vastly greater than when Kirke summoned the helpless Champlain to surrender; for, though still indifferently protected landwards, the town was impregnable from the river, and it was on that side that the only vigorous attack was made. Phipps made a fruitless attempt, as Wolfe subsequently did, to advance on the town from the Beauport Flats. Failing, he used his broadsides; but the bombardment of the town from the fleet was answered by a better directed fire from the city batteries. With some ships disabled Phipps gave up the attempt, and returned, to suffer more from the elements in the Gulf than from the fire of the Grand Battery. His tardiness in reaching the field of operation, combined with the incongruous elements of his naval and land forces, made failure almost a foregone conclusion; nevertheless, so short was the garrison of provisions that the addition of de Callières' forces to the

poverty-stricken and hungry town would have made surrender inevitable, had Phipps known the true state of Frontenac's command and been bold, or rather rash, enough to run the risk of November storms in the Gulf.

Mons. Saint Vallier was building at the time a little church in the Lower Town, on the site of the old Company's store, and this he dedicated to *Notre Dame de la Victoire*. The first Sunday after the 22nd of October of each year is still observed as a feast day in commemoration of the victory. The same unpretentious little chapel was re-dedicated to the Virgin twenty-two years afterwards, in recognition of her intervention in wrecking Admiral Hovenden Walker's fleet in the Gulf; and it has since been known as *Notre Dame des Victoires*, the plural form representing her two interventions on behalf of the pious town which had always been particularly devoted to the worship of the Holy Family. The Quebec clergy were willing to attribute the whole credit of Phipps'—as they were subsequently of Walker's—defeat to divine aid.*

The brilliant defence was soon known to the uttermost parts of New France, nor was it long before the defeat of the attacking fleet and army was reported and bemoaned in the villages and towns of the English colonies. A medal was struck by the French government in commemoration of the victory, but no adequate forces were sent to Canada to protect her in future. The exploit raised the renown of the Governor among white men and red, and restrained New England from making any further attempt to capture Canada's stronghold during Frontenac's life. Louis XIV. was slow in recognizing his debt to the Count, even to the extent of conferring on him the Cross of St. Louis. He declined to make him a lieutenant-general, but allowed him a gratuity of 6,000 livres for his chaplain, secretary and

* The English, after the final capture of Quebec, were less humble, for in a sermon preached by Samuel Cooper before Governor Pownall and the Massachusetts Council and House of Representatives, the reverend gentleman allows Divine Providence only a share, as co-operating with the British navy, in the honor of the final victory. To quote the speaker's own words—"These conquests, great as they have been, are owing to the favor of that Being, who is the sole monarch of the ocean, where even the British navy cannot triumph without the aid of His providence."



Notre Dame des Victoires, from Richard Short's drawings, 1759.



Notre Dame des Victoires, with adjacent house, as restored and standing to-day.

surgeon. Phipps' challenge and defeat aggravated the rancorous feeling between the neighboring French and English colonies, rendering more vicious the border raids in which Christian men on both sides enlisted the services of the Indians, and thus made themselves responsible for the abominations and barbarities of savage warfare. Happily, before Frontenac passed away in the autumn of 1698, there was a lull in this hateful strife consequent upon the establishment of peace between France and England; and one of his last public acts was to entertain at dinner in the old Château John Schuyler, of Albany, who had come, on the proclamation of the Peace of Ryswick, to negotiate for an exchange of prisoners.

The defeat of Phipps was the only heroic incident in an irritating, ignominious border warfare. It was, however, not only the constant terror to which the frontier settlements of Massachusetts were exposed, but alarm at the far-reaching schemes which Frontenac had formed to hem the English colonies within a circle of French forts, stretching from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi, that goaded the New England colony to desperation, and inspired the attempt to extinguish at one blow French power on the Continent.

Turning now from deeds of warfare to the social life of the colony, it is impossible not to regret that Frontenac was not accompanied to Canada by his brilliant Countess. Her womanly tact, it is safe to say, would have kept him out of many difficulties into which he rashly ran. The Château under the Old Régime famous though it was through the men who, in peace and in war, had held council within its walls, had seldom been the scene of such social hospitalities as women alone can devise and conduct.

Life in the Old Fort was modest and simple enough in Champlain's time, and conducted with almost monastic severity, especially during his later years, when his Jesuit advisers had an undisputed ascendancy. There was one short interval when his young wife shed a little brightness over its scanty accommodations. Governor Montmagny, during his long rule, carried out strictly and faithfully his vows of celibacy, and as the black robes were very intimate at the Château his suite must have been

compelled to observe a like restraint, and women must have found its atmosphere uncongenial. Madame d'Aillebout, who was mistress twice, was, though devout, a fascinating woman, and won men's hearts, as well as their respect, long after her austere husband had gone to his well-deserved reward. The Château was certainly not the scene of much public revelry during its occupation by the three Governors who, after de Lauzon, successively represented the Company of the One Hundred Associates. None of them were accompanied by their wives. All were in conflict with the Bishop, and none therefore—publicly at least—dare aggravate their sins by encouraging such gaiety as a public ball. In the early days fireworks and plays were exhibited at the fort to amuse the Indians and instruct the people, for the Jesuits had none of the Puritan scruples against theatrical performances, which were given in their College by their pupils on special occasions, and as part of the annual closing exercises; but they had all John Wesley's aversion to dancing, or to amusements which brought the sexes into too close proximity.

On the assumption by the King of actual rule over the Colony in 1663 and the arrival of the Carignan-Salières Regiment to give éclat to the King's viceroy, de Tracy, who landed with befitting dignity from a fleet of ships, everything changed, and with it the strict rule of the early Jesuit period. Though the Bishop was not a lover of pleasure, and the clergy of the Quebec Diocese were then, as they have ever since been, strict disciplinarians, enforcing a rigid code of morality, they did not restrict their flocks in the enjoyment of innocent amusements. It was different at Montreal. The gay Baron Lahontan complained bitterly, when stationed with his regiment there, of the strict surveillance which the Reverend Seigneurs, the priests of St. Sulpice, maintained. They not only forbade all dancing, gambling and masquerading, but took noble ladies to task, and deprived them of the sacrament, because they dressed in gayer colors than the sombre priests approved; and they never hesitated to upbraid the culprits from the pulpit, a habit which got them into trouble when the Abbé Fenelon went so far as to criticise Frontenac himself in one of his sermons. They were also extremely particular as to what they allowed

their flock to read. This probably was a restriction of personal liberty little objected to by a community kept ever on the watch for the Iroquois and not much given to literature. The French officers, however, were not over devout, and the books which they brought with them and allowed to lie about their quarters, alarmed and scandalized the good Fathers in a shocking degree. The Curé in the Baron's absence saw fit to ransack his room and found a copy of the works of Petronius, which, being a perfect edition, the Baron particularly valued. But it remained perfect no longer, as the angry curé tore out a number of objectionable leaves. The Baron, on discovering the mutilation, swore he would tear as many hairs out of the priest's beard as the priest had torn leaves from his book. His indignation, however, finally yielded to the entreaties of his landlord not to get him into trouble by such a mode of resenting the injury. From Montreal the Baron was removed to Boucherville, where, the curé being more tolerant, he enjoyed himself in a round of parties and picnics. Of the Quebec secular clergy he has only kind words to say; he admits and appreciates the self-denial of these poor priests who contented themselves with the bare necessities of life, and applauds the good sense with which they refrained from meddling with matters outside their province.

It is to be feared, however, that the lenient rule of the Quebec clergy was taken advantage of by their parishioners, for Bishop Laval, in 1682, was obliged to reprove the women for not only coming to church, but taking the sacrament and distributing *pain benit*, with bare arms and low-neck dresses and uncovered heads. The abuse had grown to such a pass that he was compelled to forbid the priests administering the sacrament to women thus underclad. The excesses or deficiencies in dress were perhaps a symptom of a social condition requiring great watchfulness on the part of the clergy, for we find the Bishop threatening to excommunicate all who took part in a *charivari*, a noisy mode of expressing popular disapproval of unsuitable marriages which has survived to our own day. But a few years later still worse demoralization threatened the pious town, for Frontenac, besides giving a public ball at the Château in the winter of 1694, went

so far as to propose that Molière's "Tartuffe" should be performed.

The Jesuits had patronized by their presence serious tragedies, such as Corneille's "Heraclius" and "The Cid," but they had disapproved absolutely of a ballet given at the Company's store in 1647, which a certain "petite Marsolet," a pupil of the Ursulines, had attended in defiance of their commands. When Frontenac enlisted the dramatic talent of the garrison in the performance of Racine's "Mithridate," no protest was made; but when he proposed playing "Tartuffe," and assigned the management to a certain Lieutenant Mareul, a gentleman, who, though only a year in the colony, had already become notorious for his gallantry, his old friend, Bishop Saint Vallier, loudly protested. It is assumed as true by the Abbé Ferland that Frontenac suggested that it would do the religious ladies and their scholars good to see a certain phase of life depicted in its true colors. If there is any truth in the story, Frontenac must have intended it for a joke, in the same spirit as that in which he met the Bishop when he accepted 100 pistoles from the fat purse of the wealthy prelate in consideration of withdrawing the piece. The Bishop did not see the joke. The Governor kept his promise; but the Bishop, to ensure the fulfilment of the pact, thundered *mandements* against such irreligious plays, and included Mareul himself by name as "an impious creature, who even in public talks in a manner which should make the very heavens blush and call down the vengeance of God." "Tartuffe" contains some expressions that verge on the indelicate and which might be omitted without injuring the play; but no pruning could conceal the fact that the motive of the whole comedy is a satire against religious hypocrisy.

Tartuffe was a lay, not a clerical, hypocrite, and the play was aimed against the Illuminati and their courtly advocate, Desmarets. So clearly was this recognized at the time of its first presentation that it met, according to Michelet, with the approval of the papal legate himself; but none the less its application to hypocrites in general has made it popular with every generation, and odious to certain classes. Neither Laval nor Saint Vallier had the least reason to fear a personal reference, but the wealthy Jes-

uits, accused, whether justly or not, of augmenting the already great wealth of the Society, by engaging in trade under the guise of mission work, might well dread to see the comedy performed. Whether Bishop Saint Vallier loved the Jesuits or not, he dare not allow any body of clergy to be exposed to ridicule. The Bishop therefore threw himself impetuously into the fray against the play, against the Governor who had suggested it, and against the officers who were to act in it, thus alienating his best friend, the Governor, and antagonizing the army. He even induced the Sovereign Council to arrest Mareul for blasphemy, and kept him in prison until Frontenac almost by force procured his release.*

* The quarrel between Bishop Saint Vallier and Frontenac over *Tartuffe* was a repetition of a somewhat similar feud between Bishop Laval and the Intendant Talon, growing out of a ball given by M. Chartier de Lotbinière in 1667. The brotherhood (confrérie) of the Holy Family in Canada originated with the Jesuit Father Chaumont. He had, to use his own words, "conceived for fourteen years or more the ardent desire that the Divine Mary should have a large number of spiritual children by adoption to console her for the suffering she underwent through the loss of her Jesus. Once when I was smitten by this ardent desire to obtain for the Virgin Mother this saintly and numerous posterity, I suddenly heard distinctly in the depth of my soul these words, which appealed to my heart: 'You will be my spouse, since you desire to make me the mother of so many children.' Filled with shame and confusion, in that the Mother of God should think of doing me such an honor, I was abased by the consideration of my nothingness, my sins and my wretchedness. Nevertheless, she told me that she was my spouse." Thus originated in Canada, the brotherhood of the Holy Family, which Bishop Laval favored, for the creation of which he obtained bulls from Alexander VII., for the guidance of whose members he laid down wise and stimulating rules intended to assist them in imitating the life of the Holy Family. As the women members were urged to ask themselves on every critical occasion, "How would the Holy Virgin have acted under these circumstances? Would she have done this? Would she have spoken thus? Would she have dressed in this fashion?" and as they promised to abstain from frivolities in which the Holy Virgin would not have engaged, the range of gayeties in which they might participate was limited. Some of the ladies, who, in their enthusiasm, had joined the fraternity, yielding to more worldly impulses, went to M. Chartier's ball, for which they were gravely reprovved by the Bishop and the priests of the Seminary, who were the spiritual managers of the fraternity. It would seem to have been quite within the province of the Bishop and the clergy to reprimand delinquents for disobedience of the rules of the fraternity and neglect of their purely religious duties, and even to suspend the members of the confrérie. But the Intendant Talon regarded the Bishop's action as an infringement of the social liberty of the citizen, and as a reflection on the character of the entertainment. He therefore brought the matter before the Council, and a committee was appointed to investigate. The Committee reported that the Carnival entertainment had been harmless, and the subject was then dropped in the Council; but not by society in the little town, where the secrecy of the fraternity's meetings gave scope for abundant scandalous rumor. The whole incident affords a curious example of the extremes to which the leaders of the Church and State will go when looking for causes of offense and excuses for a quarrel.

The presence of the military had, in the long run, a demoralizing effect on society, though, if we are to credit the Jesuit narrative, when the Carignan-Salières Regiment first came out there was a veritable revival of religion in the ranks. Talon writes to the King that he, Mons. de Tracy, and Courcelle had assisted at the abjuration of his heresy by a certain Captain Berthier of the regiment, at the hands of the Bishop, and that sixteen soldiers had within a month been converted. The effect was not in all cases evanescent, for a certain Captain Petit subsequently took holy orders. Mons. Laval, writing to the Propaganda, names twenty-two who had abjured their heresy in the year 1665, and states that at least thirty-three of the soldiers who had landed with typhoid fever, and had been treated at the Hôtel Dieu, had done likewise. Many of the Catholics had never been confirmed, and the famous regiment had evidently enrolled in its ranks not a few Huguenots. The poor fellows landed from the pest ships were not only met with kind nursing from the nuns, but found themselves in a religious atmosphere such as they had never before breathed.

Of course, this paroxysm of piety passed like most *revivals*, and the ways of the world which the soldiers introduced became a source of great alarm and anxiety to the priests. Some of the officers engaged in trade, and the men drank; and neither officers nor men had any scruples in treating the Indians, whether to assist a bargain or from sheer good fellowship. And that old soldier, Frontenac, though a good Catholic and a strict attendant at mass—not however at the Cathedral, but across the Place d'Armes at the Chapel of the Recollets—one who conducted household prayers himself every evening and went into retreat every year, adhered to the old tradition that dancing was the best training for good marching, and that the soldier was entitled to more than ordinary license, as a compensation for the greater risks of his profession. The calm old Château, therefore, during his two terms of office was the scene of more gaiety than it had ever been before.

With a temper so impetuous and methods of government so arbitrary, it was inevitable that Frontenac should make enemies; but it was unfortunate for his reputation that he quarrelled so bit-

terly with the higher Church authorities, and that he tried to pit one religious body against another. It was unfortunate, too, that his friends were the comparatively illiterate Recollets, and his enemies the astute and highly educated Jesuits. The result was that he had no literary defenders, and that consequently there has been handed down, and received as true, a whole budget of derogatory stories, affecting not only his own but his wife's good name. She was the beautiful, dashing, and eccentric Anne de la Grange, one of the Lieutenants and *Marechale de Camp* of the Grande Mademoiselle, when she made her triumphant entry into Orleans during the war of the Fronde. A woman so conspicuous, and of so marked a character, was sure to be talked about, and notoriety at the Court of Louis XIV. was hardly compatible, in the case of a woman, with unblemished repute. Saint Simon, the amusing gossip-monger of that generation, seems to have disliked Frontenac. He always mentions him with disparagement, or faint praise, and casts insinuations and shadows of suspicion over the character and actions of his brilliant Countess. Calumny even followed his mortal remains, for the unauthenticated and improbable tale is repeated by standard historians to-day of how Frontenac, upon his deathbed, gave instructions that his heart should be sent in a silver casket to his wife, and how she indignantly declined to receive it on the ground that in life it had never been hers.

Social manners certainly became freer during Frontenac's administration and they declined rapidly afterwards. Bishop Saint Vallier, on his way to Montreal, in 1694, was shocked by gossip about the intimate friendship of an officer with a married lady at Batiscan, and a quarrel in which a lady's name was involved gave rise to a fatal duel in the streets of Quebec. As the regulations of the army forbade officers to marry without leave, lefthanded marriages were common; but it was not until Governor Vaudreuil's time that even the convents were invaded by the prevalent levity. Bishop Saint Vallier had to appeal to the Council to use its influence to induce Governor Vaudreuil not to enter the convent himself, and to cease giving authority, as he had been doing, to all sorts of persons to disturb the seclusion of the nuns.

Madame de Vaudreuil, a Canadian girl by birth, had been elevated by her marriage to the rank of marchioness. Through Denonville's influence she had obtained the post of undergoverness of the Royal Family at Versailles. When she returned to Canada she brought back with her some of the manners of Versailles. She carried her head so high as to be the envy of her sex, and, being a woman, made free to enter with her suite the nunneries when she listed. And thus the evil grew until good Bishop Dosquet, Saint Vallier's successor, had to deplore the fact that the religious ladies, to the great scandal of the pious, went so far as to attend dinner and supper parties at the Château and the Intendant's palace. Kalm himself fifty years later prints the *ménu* of an excellent dinner given him at the convent of the Ursulines, but he does not say whether the religious ladies partook of it with him. To secure peace the ecclesiastical authorities had to yield more or less to the officers of State, if we may judge by Bishop Dosquet's description of Bishop Saint Vallier's attitude.

CHAPTER XXII.

Arrival of Bishop Laval as Bishop of Petraea and Vicar Apostolic, and the Creation of a Parochial Clergy.

Before the capture of Quebec by Kirke the Recollet Friars, had by dispensation, performed parochial duties in the absence of the secular clergy. After its restoration the Jesuits alone, as we have seen, were allowed to return, and, for twenty-seven years they were the only ecclesiastics performing regular parochial functions in the colony. There came out with Champlain in 1634, a secular priest, LeSueur de St. Sauveur by name, and we have met Mons. Gilles Nicolet, but to neither of them seem to have been assigned any stated duties until 1639, when the Ursuline and Hospital nurses arrived. Quarters were assigned to the Hospitalières in the Company's house opposite the Fort, but as the rooms were unfurnished, and their bedding was still on board the ship, the Abbé Jean LeSueur busied himself in making them as comfortable as possible, gathering boughs and sapin branches for their beds. Although the branches were found to be full of caterpillars, the kind services of the Abbé were appreciated, and the nuns made him their chaplain, but seemingly not their father confessor. His devotion perhaps did not compare favorably with that of the Jesuits, for we find that Father Minard replaced him in 1641 as chaplain, and acted as confessor for three years, when more active duties required him to resign his post in favor of their original spiritual adviser. M. LeSueur is the only secular priest who occupied a prominent position in these early days, and his name is perpetuated in that of the suburb of St. Sauveur.

Subsequently there accompanied M. d'Aillebout to Canada M. Vignal, another secular priest, as chaplain and father con-

fessor to the Ursulines. He seems to have been a quiet, unassuming man, who did his duty unostentatiously and shunned notoriety. The post was a congenial one, and he retained it until removed by the energetic Father Queylus, during his short reign. Good Father Vignal subsequently fell a victim to the Iroquois.

With Bishop Laval there came out in 1659 Jean Torcapel and Phillipe Pèlerin as priests, Henri de Bernières, a "*simple tonsure*," and Charles de Lauson-Charny, who had entered holy orders, and of whom we have already heard, as having temporarily held the office of Governor after the departure of his Father, M. Jean de Lauzon. After that date parish duties in and about Quebec were discharged by secular clergymen, but the Jesuits continued to perform them at Montreal until the arrival of the Sulpicians in 1657.

Canada was favored by sharing most bountifully in the fruits of the great religious revival which took place within the Church of Rome itself in the seventeenth century. The Ursulines and the Sisters of the Congregation as teachers of the young, and the Hospitalières (Nuns of St. Augustine) of the Hôtel Dieu, as nurses, filled positions which the impecunious Company and the needy colonists could not possibly have supplied by paid workers. The example thus given of true practical Christianity, appealed much more forcibly to the poor white colonists, and the still more indigent aborigines, than the secluded self-abnegation of the strictly cloistered orders could have done. Both orders were creations of the Reformation in its wider sense. We have already mentioned the Recollets, who were the first to teach and to practice in this remote field and in the hidden recesses of the continent, the principles of the Master and of his disciple, the gentle Saint Francis. As to the Jesuits who succeeded them it may briefly be said that they exhibited a devotion to duty coupled with a scorn of danger and of death itself in its most cruel forms, which has compelled the admiration of those even who least admire their system. The story of the Missions of the Jesuits in the seventeenth century, whether in the West or in the East, must be allowed to offset a large part of the odium which has attached to the Order on account of its unhappy tendency to blend

politics with religion. Perhaps their Canadian missionary annals express more truthfully than other chapters of their history the real purpose and intent of their remarkable founders. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that they were a serious burden on the infant colony, while their *Relations* distracted attention in France from the urgent needs of the French emigrants, fastening it exclusively on the needs of their own missionary work among the aborigines.

A healthier, if less historically important, outgrowth of the Reformation than the Society of Jesus was the Seminary of St. Sulpice, in Paris. Here we find a body of earnest and able secular priests choosing as their leader and director a man of recognized saintliness of character, M. Olier, and pledging themselves to follow his principles and rule of life without severing themselves from the general body of the clergy, like the Jesuits, or taking monastic vows, like the mendicant orders. M. Olier was a contemporary and disciple of St. Francis de Sales and St. Vincent de Paul, and while animated by their pity for the poor and helpless, he recognized that, if Catholicism was to maintain its influence over the educated classes, it must be through a highly educated clergy. Becoming the Curé of the large parish of St. Sulpice, he gathered around him in the busy Faubourg of St. Germain a group of scholars devoted primarily to educating youths aspiring to the office of the priesthood. At one time he longed to become himself a missionary to Canada, but though unable to fulfill this wish, he was from the first one of the associates of the Montreal Company, and a friend of M. de Maisonneuve and Mademoiselle Mance. Accordingly, when in 1656 M. de Maisonneuve saw reason to fear that the Jesuits, who had heretofore fulfilled all the clerical functions in Montreal, might not be able to spare a priest much longer, he applied to M. Olier for assistance. There is in the complimentary reference made by the Montreal Company to the Jesuits, and in the reciprocated compliments of the Jesuits, a thinly disguised vein of jealousy. Be that as it may, M. Olier designated four of his colleagues who were willing to undertake the hardships and risks of service in Canada. One of these, M. de Queylus, it was

suggested, should be consecrated Bishop before leaving, but failing to secure this position, he was created Grand Vicair by the Archbishop of Rouen, who claimed Episcopal authority over the Canadian Church.*

That the Jesuits did not frustrate the invasion of their territory by the Sulpicians as they had so successfully done in the case of the Recollets, may be due, as Sulte suggests, to their temporary discomfiture in France through the attack of the Jansenists under Pascal. Ultimately the Sulpicians became the most wealthy ecclesiastical body in Canada, for in 1640 M. de Lauson transferred to Dauversière and other founders of the Montreal Company, the seignory of Montreal, and in 1663 this Company dissolved voluntarily in favor of the Sulpicians. These ecclesiastics thus became, not only independent and self-supporting, but, according to the Swedish traveller and writer, Kalm, able to remit to their Order in France.

The Jesuits were ultimately expelled from Canada. The Recollets after the Conquest retired; but the Sulpicians have lived through revolutions in France, through changes of government in Canada, and through even greater changes in their social surroundings, and still retain influence both in the Old and in the New World through the consistency of their lives with their religious profession.

Renan, who was educated by the Sulpicians in their Seminaries at Issy and Paris, and who may be accepted as a candid witness, after speaking of the high attainments of some of his professors, adds: "But it is not to eminent scholarship that the teachers of St. Sulpice attach the highest value. St. Sulpice is above all a school of virtue. It is chiefly in respect to virtue that St. Sulpice is a remnant of the past—a fossil two hundred years old. Many of my opinions may surprise the outside world because they have not seen what I have seen. At St. Sulpice I have seen,

*The Archbishop of Rouen was also primate of Normandy. The ecclesiastical Province of Normandy closely corresponded geographically to the lines of the Duchy, and as Brittany owed homage to the Duke of the Normans, the primate of Normandy claimed the emigrants from Normandy and Brittany across the sea, as within his episcopal province.

coupled, I admit, with very narrow views, the perfection of goodness, politeness, modesty and self-sacrifice. There is enough virtue in St. Sulpice to govern the whole world. And this fact has made me very discriminating in my appreciation of what I have seen elsewhere. A future generation will never be able to realize what treasures, devoted to the advancement of the welfare of mankind, are stored up in those ancient schools of silence, gravity and respect." In their humility the Sulpicians have even refrained from attaching their names to their writings. Hence Dollier de Casson's "History of Montreal" can only be assumed to be from his pen, and the Abbé Faillon's "Histoire de la Colonie Française en Canada" is anonymous. The Sulpicians are rather a community than an order, being bound together by obedience to an idea and by unity of purpose rather than by rigid vows. This was true also of another group of devotees in that surging period of religious revival—*les Filles de la Congregation*,* to whom Canada owes much.

In the Hermitage of Caen, under M. de Bernières, there was assembled a group of men as profoundly imbued with the spirit of expansive Christianity as the Brethren of St. Sulpice, but whose zeal exhausted itself in mystical self-communing rather than in the practice of useful duties. The bonds created by the mere memory of a pious founder and obedience to his mystical precepts, were too feeble to hold together his followers for two generations. We have met with M. de Bernières as married to, and yet not the husband of, Mme. de la Peltrie, and seen how she went with the Ursuline Nuns to Canada while he remained in France to administer the finances of the institution.† His sister, Gourdain de Bernières, was Superioress of the Ursuline Convent at Caen, and in the yard of the Nunnery his brother built a hermitage to which both clerics and

* "Les Filles de la Congregation," an association formed by Marguerite Bourgeois in Montreal, was composed of devoted women under merely simple vows (*vœux simples*) in distinction to "*vœux solennels*."—Charlevoix II, Page 95. To-day this order has not fewer than 25,000 pupils. Bentzon "Notes de Voyage," Page 178.

† Gosselin, in his Life of Laval, supposes the marriage not to have taken place. Vol. I, Page 79.

laymen retired for spiritual intercourse and solemn communing. Like Olier, whose book, "Journée Chrétienne," has become for his disciples their rule of life, so de Bernières poured out his soul and his conceptions of the duties and destinies of man in a treatise entitled "Le Chrétien Intérieur," at first published anonymously. As it savored of Quietism, it was placed on the Index till the objectionable passages were expunged.

What renders the Hermitage a spot of interest to us, apart from the fact that M. de Bernières presided over it, is that both Bishop Laval and M. de Mézy, nominated by the Bishop himself, as successor to d'Avaugour in the Governorship of Canada, as well as de Bernières' brother, who was subsequently Grand Vicaire to the Bishop, were its inmates, and imbibed their religious inspiration from its atmosphere. Had the discipline of this establishment been as rigid as that imposed by Loyola on the novices of the Society of Jesus, and had de Bernières' teaching been as specific in its injunctions as the "Letter on Obedience" and the "Constitutions" of the great Founder of Jesuitism, two prominent members of the Society could hardly in after life have opposed one another so bitterly as Bishop Laval and Governor de Mézy did over the question of the respective provinces of Church and State.

The Canadian Church fortunately had drawn its priests and nuns from sources exceptionally pure, and the secular clergy, as time went on, identified themselves intimately and disinterestedly with the domestic and social life of the people. It was doubtless due to these circumstances that the interference of the Church did not arouse popular, as well as official, resentment. The quarrel was entirely confined to the higher clergy and the chiefs of the civil government. The people, in the days of Jesuit supremacy, there is reason to believe, fretted under it, but after they had secured secular priests and curés, they left the struggle between Church and State to those who were more immediately affected by the result. The struggle commenced in earnest with the arrival in Quebec on June 16, 1659, of François de Montmorency-Laval de Montigny, *Vicaire Apostolique* and Bishop of Petraea *in partibus infidelium*.

From a strictly ecclesiastical point of view the presence of a

bishop in the country was certainly much required. The Jesuits were energetic enough in the performance of their clerical functions in Quebec itself, but the settlements at Beauport, Beaupré, the Island of Orleans and other points near by, whose population in 1666 was thrice that of the town, and at an earlier date probably proportionately as large, had to be content with their occasional ministrations, and with such aid and comfort as they received from Messieurs Le Sueur and Nicolet. When Mons. de Maisonneuve was in France in 1645 the subject of a Bishop for Canada was mooted, and M. Gauffon (*Sulte III*, page 139), an associate of Mons. Olier, was nominated, but died before action could be taken. The matter was not, however, allowed to rest. Anne of Austria, according to Charlevoix, is said to have favored the Jesuit Father Le Jeune as Bishop; and at another time an agitation was excited in favor of Father Lalemant, by reason of his eminence in the order to which Canada was considered to owe so much. But the rules of the Society forbade his accepting a Bishopric, even if the Pope had approved of him.

As the constitution of the Church required that every community must be under some Bishop, Father Vimont in 1647 (*Journal des Jésuites*, Aug. 15, 1653, page 185), after consultation with his superiors in Rome, obtained from the Archbishop of Rouen a patent appointing the Superior of the Jesuit Mission his Vicaire Général. In connection with this arrangement every possible precaution was taken for the protection of the Society; yet Charlevoix asserts that the pretensions of that prelate to exercise authority over the Church in Canada were not founded on a valid title, and that the Bishops of Nantes and LaRochelle held better claim to the privilege. However that may be, as long as it was a Jesuit on whom power was conferred, the authority of the Archbishop of Rouen was never questioned; but when another Archbishop of Rouen appointed the Abbé Queylus his Grand Vicaire in 1657, giving him authority over even the Superior of the Jesuits, though the Jesuits submitted, it was with an ill grace, and trouble speedily supervened. M. Dollier de Casson, the Sulpician historian of Montreal, admirably describes the diplomatic expressions of

pleasure with which the Jesuit Fathers welcomed the Grand Vicaire, and tells us how short-lived was the truce. Father de Quen, the Superior of the Jesuits, recognized the Abbé's authority at first, and allowed the Jesuit Father Poncet to be confirmed by him as Curé of Quebec. But when Father Poncet, as the Abbé's appointee, acted without authority and permission of his Jesuit Superior, Father de Quen, exercising his authority as Superior, assigned him to an Iroquois Mission and appointed Father Pijart in his place.

Father Poncet in passing through Montreal reported to the Abbé, who in hot haste went down to Quebec and assumed the duties of Curé himself. After this there was at best an armed peace between the Abbé and the Jesuits. They could not deny the Archbishop's authority under which they themselves had served, or refuse to recognize his appointee, but they freely used their right of criticism, if we may judge from the frequent references to the obnoxious M. Queylus in the Journal, and from a letter written by the deposed Father Pijart to M. Lambert, which came indirectly under the Abbé's eye, and in which he was described with true theological vigor as a "worse enemy than the Iroquois themselves." Irritated beyond endurance, the Vicar General used the vantage ground of the pulpit in his own parish church from which to attack his detractors. Altogether the Abbé was very human in his weaknesses, and his anger was impolitic; but despite his irritable temper he was a thoroughly kind man. He flung excommunications against some of his parishoners, who were suspected of having burned a neighbor's house, but he flung his purse and gave his services generously to the needy. His fiery character and unbridled speech were in marked contrast with the polite demeanor and imperturbable self-control of his Jesuit co-workers, who, despite the bitter feeling expressed in their private Journal, refrained from questioning his authority in public, and observed a discreet silence respecting him in their *Relations*.

One of the Abbé Queylus' first acts of hostility was to serve a summons on the Jesuit Fathers to vacate their presbytery, or else return the 6,000 livres which the City had contributed towards it on the express condition that it should be built as the property

of the parish church, a condition with which they had not complied, as they had built it as their own. After four months of deliberation on the part of the Governor, and of warm debate on the subject by the people and their ecclesiastical guides, the Abbé was adjudged the 6,000 livres for his presbytery. Nevertheless, whatever rancor the Fathers might feel, they paid their New Year calls on their ecclesiastical chief who had fallen sick and could not return them. On his side, when the *Fête Dieu* came round he co-operated with the Jesuits in the procession, and accepted an invitation to dine at the Jesuits' table with the Governor. Still they were always on the alert to pick a flaw in the Abbé's conduct or in his logic, and he was not a man to deny them the opportunity.

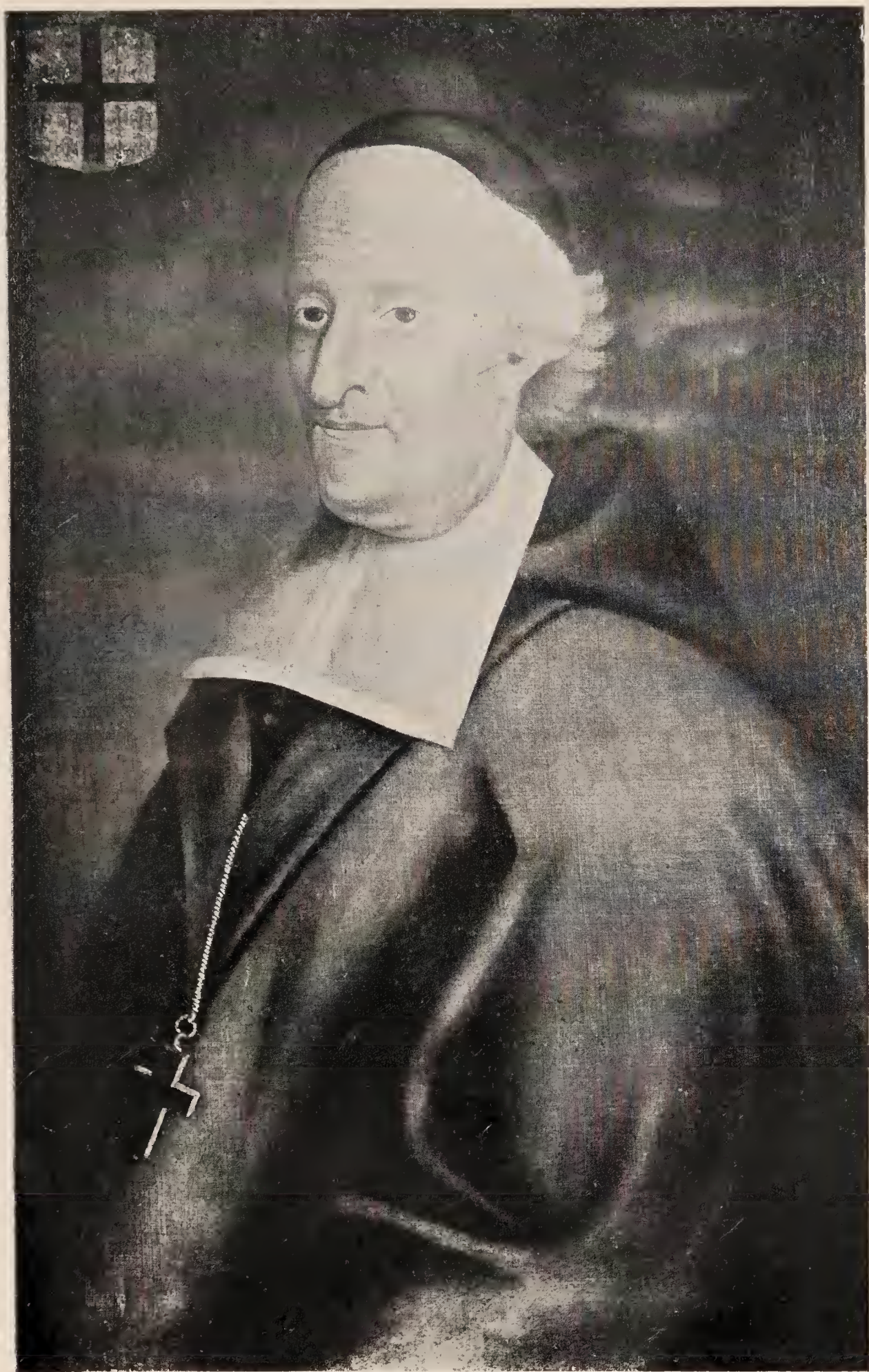
On the burning question of the sale of brandy to the Indians (Journal, March 31, 1658, page 233), the Abbé at first took the commercial and civil view of the question, but later was converted to the prohibition and ecclesiastical side. Instead of rejoicing and giving him the credit of sincere conversion, Father de Quen chuckles over the inconsistency of the Abbé, who, after supporting the traffic, had turned round and preached against it, even pronouncing it a mortal sin to give brandy to a savage, on the ground that he never drinks except to get drunk.

The Abbé could stand their silent taunts and ill-disguised contempt, but when they produced a patent, probably from the Bishop of Nantes or LaRochelle, appointing the Superior of the Jesuits Grand Vicaire, he bowed to higher authority, and left Quebec for Montreal in company with the Governor, Mons. d'Aillebout, and his wife. Had his own credentials limited his ecclesiastical control to Montreal and the adjacent districts already under the rule of St. Sulpice, there would probably not have been any trouble, but it was not in human, especially Jesuit, nature to yield to his assumption of government over a territory which had before been so absolutely under their own spiritual and political control.

The Abbé remained with his co-religionists in Montreal for a year. Meanwhile, in 1659, Bishop Laval arrived to take episcopal charge of almost the whole of North America. The dissensions

among the clergy, and the dominant control exerted by a single order of regulars, certainly demanded the presence without delay of an ecclesiastical chief, and of a body of secular clergy unattached to any order or community. The Abbé had either a premonition or a hint of the attitude the Bishop would assume in the quarrel between himself and his rivals, for he came to Quebec on August 7 on his way to France. He accepted the hospitality of the Fort, and is mentioned as preaching in the Chapel of the Hôtel Dieu, but not in his own old church—now the Cathedral. On the eve of embarking he received a communication, probably from the Archbishop of Rouen, which might have emboldened him to assert his claims as Grand Vicar; but just as the same juncture, the Bishop, whatever his original commission may have been, received a letter, giving him episcopal jurisdiction over both Montreal and Quebec. All Mons. Queylus could do was to bow and retire from the Colony. He appears twice again in Canada, but for only a brief span. Nevertheless he continued to occupy a large space in Canada's ecclesiastical history, as the representative of the Archbishop of Rouen's claims in his prolonged and bitter contest for the episcopal control of Canada. Two years subsequently to his defeat by the Bishop he returned (August 3, 1661). The Bishop forbade him to go to Montreal. Though he set the order at defiance, his resistance was short lived, as he was opposing, not only the Bishop, but the King himself. He sailed away in October of the same year, to the serious loss of the Colony, which could ill afford to part with a man of so much talent and stubborn independence, whose influence, notwithstanding that he was himself an ecclesiastic, would probably have tended to mitigate the excessive pretensions of ecclesiastical authority. He returned to Montreal in 1668, but by that time the authority of the Bishop was unquestioned in matters spiritual, nor did he attempt to oppose it.

If the Jesuits could not under the Constitution of their Order allow a member to accept episcopal dignity, the Society was not forbidden to exert its influence in favor of a candidate; and in the selection of François de Montmorency Laval de Montigny as *Vicaire Apostolique* of Canada, and in the bestowal on



François Xavier de Laval-Montmorency.

him of the title of Bishop of Petraea *in partibus infidelium*, we can recognize the guiding hand of the Society of Jesus, which was as strongly opposed to Gallicanism as to Protestantism itself. The Pope, in refusing to appoint the Abbé Queylus, who was the choice of the French clergy, and in selecting Laval, acted, as he claimed, independently, but his preference doubtless coincided with that of the Society of Jesus.

Difficulties and delays innumerable occurred before means could be devised of consecrating the Bishop owing to the opposition of the Archbishop of Rouen and his friends. As Cardinal Mazarin was at least luke-warm in support of his candidature the King's consent was secured through the influence of the Queen mother. Even after that was obtained, all the ingenuity of the Papal Nuncio, Piccolomini, was needed to persuade the Archbishop of Paris to permit his consecration within his diocese. But, once consecrated, and strong in the consciousness of Papal support, Laval was prepared for any foe who might challenge him. As *Vicaire Apostolique* he considered himself directly answerable to no one but the Pope of Rome. His own principles were those of extreme ultramontanism, and are well expressed by Abbé Gosselin, the delightful biographer both of Laval and of his successor, Saint-Vallier, when he speaks of the true Catholic as one who "knows well that the Church to which he has the happiness of belonging is a society immortal, infallible and perfectly organized, which holds its mission through Jesus Christ himself, and is as superior to the State as the soul excels the body; that although these two societies ought to remain independent, each occupying its own sphere, yet inasmuch as the interests of the one surpass those of the other, as Heaven is higher than the earth, whenever their interests clash, the State must submit to the Church." In older communities where these sweeping premises are sometimes admitted as matter of faith, certain precedents and rules are still recognized as determining the relative positions of ecclesiastical and state officials, and the limits of ecclesiastical interference. But in Canada the Bishop entered on his office resolved to construe literally the protestation of every French ruler, from Francis I. onward,

that the evangelization of the world and the glory of God were the foremost motives of all colonizing schemes. In that new land where there were no heretics, and where such weeds as Jansenism and Gallicanism, and even Quietism, had been rooted out with holy zeal by the Jesuits, there was a better opportunity than in France of realizing the ideal of a City of God, where Truth, as interpreted by the Church, should be the law, where a rigid morality should be enforced by legal penalties, and where the head of the State should be guided in all matters pertaining to faith and righteousness by the one competent, because divinely inspired, authority, the Bishop. Laval, as the scion of an old house and a family of warriors, was himself by instinct a fighter. Compromise was as hateful to the Montmorency, as to the Churchman it was wicked. Advancing to battle, thus formidably equipped, he wrestled with Governor after Governor till, under Frontenac, the quarrel assumed so grave an aspect as seriously to threaten the safety of the Colony.

While disputing every inch of ground in the interest of his prerogatives, the Bishop was founding and organizing a seminary for the education of the priesthood, establishing country parishes and placing in them men of the same simple-hearted, earnest type as those who to-day make the Roman Catholic Church in Canada the brightest example to the world of what the system in its purity can produce. So whether we admit or not the validity of his claims as the anointed of the Lord, or whether we approve or disapprove of his methods of warfare, all must applaud the courage with which he fought for what he was convinced was right, and admit his title to a foremost place among the great ecclesiastical educators of the Continent.

Possessing so strong an instinct of authority, and holding such extreme hierarchal views, Laval sided of necessity with the Jesuits against the Abbé Queylus. In the exercise of his powers as *Vicaire Apostolique*, he abolished the office of *Vicaire Général*, and ordered the Abbé to leave the colony. For a time the religious communities hesitated to surrender to the Bishop's claim. The Bishop of Petraea was not Bishop of Quebec, and it was not clear exactly what rights the title conveyed.

But whatever doubt they might have on this point, the holder of it left no uncertainty in their minds as to *his* understanding of his position and duties; and before his bold, unhesitating assumption of full episcopal dignity and rights, all hesitation and resistance soon vanished.* He had made good his position, indeed, even before the King ordered Governor d'Argenson to publish in the Colony his confirmation of the Bishop's appointment, and to expel all who refused to submit to his authority, and expressly commanded the Abbé Queylus not to return to Canada. The quieting however of a mere ecclesiastical squabble did not make peace in the Colony, for there was the endless quarrel with the Civil Power still to be fought out.

Unable as the people were to foresee the influence for good or evil which Mons. de Laval would exert, it must have been a festive day in Quebec when the Bishop with his accompanying Clergy arrived. As they stepped to land on the bank where stood the Company's house and store, and the mercantile establishments of the five hundred inhabitants of the little town, they were greeted by the Jesuit fathers, the Governor and staff, and all the notable inhabitants. We can see them as they wended their way on foot up the path, which has been widened into the present Mountain Street, to the Church where they were to thank God for their safe voyage, and can imagine the effect which the glorious scenery, the strange motley crowd of savages, and the complete novelty of the situation must have produced on their minds. To Laval himself it must certainly have seemed that here was a land of unbounded promise, of infinite possibilities for the Church of which he was an instrument; nor was he greatly in error if, in prophetic mood, he felt assured that with him it rested to give a direction to its growing civilization, a stamp to its moral and intellectual development, which ages would not wholly efface.

The Jesuits, in 1647, had commenced building a stone church, designed as a basilica, on the site of the present Cathedral, after

* As *Vicaire Apostolique* he was not entitled to the privileges of a Bishop, but held the office and title of a Bishop; there being no higher authority on the continent, he claimed and maintained his right to Episcopal authority.—Gosselin I, page 177.

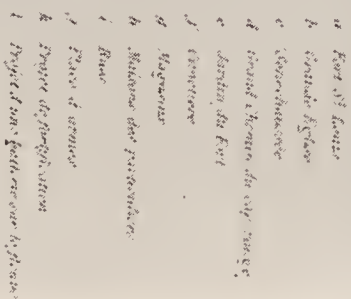
the destruction by fire of Champlain's wooden church of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance. It had been opened for service two years before the Bishop landed, but was not consecrated until 1660.

There was no presbytery, however, still less an Episcopal palace. The Abbé Queylus' presbytery, for which he had got a judgment of 6,000 francs, had not been built so the Bishop was fain to accept the hospitality most gladly offered by the religious bodies. We may assume that apartments in the Fort were at his disposal, but he wisely judged that social relations with the Governor might afterwards embarrass him in his public capacity, and restrict his liberty of action; so after lodging for a few days with the Jesuits, he took up his abode in a room of the Hôtel Dieu. There he remained for three months, but the Hospital being crowded, more especially after the arrival in September of the plague ship with its fever-stricken passengers bound for Montreal, he removed with the three priests who had accompanied him, to Madame de la Peltrie's house, which stood near the corner of Garden and Donnacana Streets. It was within the confines of the nunnery, and was occupied by pupils who had to be transferred to the main building. In order to obey the canons of the Order, Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, the Superior, had to erect a fence to shut off the Bishop's house and garden from the nunnery grounds.

The Bishop paid Madame de la Peltrie 200 livres a year rent, and kept the house for two years.* He felt, however, that he was putting the nuns to inconvenience, and he therefore returned in

*Mme. de la Peltrie's legal husband was the M. de Bernières, the ascetic mystic who had been Monsieur Laval's spiritual guide. News of de Bernières' death had quickly followed the Bishop to Canada. Had the Bishop written his autobiography, with minute and candid reports of conversations, as the writers of his own age were in the habit of doing, and had he incorporated in his personal memoirs the conversations between the widow and her husband's friend, the memoir would have given a clearer insight into the workings of the human mind under such artificial conditions, than volumes of theological and metaphysical speculation. To render the situation more dramatic, M. de Bernières' own nephew, and therefore her nephew, Mons. Henri de Bernières, was a member of the Bishop's suite, consequently one of her own tenants.

一、二、三、四、五、六、七、八、九、十、十一、十二、十三、十四、十五、十六、十七、十八、十九、二十、二十一、二十二、二十三、二十四、二十五、二十六、二十七、二十八、二十九、三十、三十一、三十二、三十三、三十四、三十五、三十六、三十七、三十八、三十九、四十、四十一、四十二、四十三、四十四、四十五、四十六、四十七、四十八、四十九、五十、五十一、五十二、五十三、五十四、五十五、五十六、五十七、五十八、五十九、六十、六十一、六十二、六十三、六十四、六十五、六十六、六十七、六十八、六十九、七十、七十一、七十二、七十三、七十四、七十五、七十六、七十七、七十八、七十九、八十、八十一、八十二、八十三、八十四、八十五、八十六、八十七、八十八、八十九、九十、九十一、九十二、九十三、九十四、九十五、九十六、九十七、九十八、九十九、一百。



the winter of 1661-1662 to the Jesuit College. In the spring of 1662 he and his clergy moved into a small house which he purchased, probably on the site of the present office of the Fabrique in Buade Street, to which, as his biographer states, he transferred the rule of life he had practiced at M. de Bernières' Hermitage at Caen; but his heart and his steps turned continually to the Hôtel Dieu, where he would gladly have ended his days in close contact with sickness, sadness, sorrow, and death.

But to return to the Bishop's early labors. He wasted no time before entering seriously on his great mission work. He had the wide experience of the Jesuit College to draw upon in his dealings with the Indians, and he hastened to rivet his influence over them by providing a great feast, which he seasoned by salutary advice and hearty encouragement. Before the month was out, preparations had been completed for a pontifical grand mass, the gorgeous ceremony of which made strong appeal to the red man, endowed as he was, and still is, with a keen sense for color and an appreciation of graceful gesture and posturing. The mass was made the more solemn by the public abjuration of his damnable heresy by one of the few Calvinists who had drifted into the Colony. Thus the new Bishop was enabled by significant acts to express his purpose of maintaining the dignity of the Church, the purity of its doctrine, and its charitable methods in dealing with the erring and the hungry.

The Abbé Queylus had begun the good work of organizing regular parishes. Among others was that of Ste. Anne at Beau-pré, the corner-stone of the foundation of whose famous primitive sanctuary was laid by Governor d'Aillebout. It became at once the scene of miracles of healing, and to-day the Bonne Ste. Anne continues to bless the faithful who appeal to her for relief in the sumptuous stone church that has replaced the former humble wooden structure. The Bishop had brought out with him some secular priests whom he meant to assign to these parishes. He was keenly alive to the necessity of organizing the Church on a parochial basis. He at once named M. de Lauson Charny, presbyter and judge in the ecclesiastical council. In August he appointed Mons. Torcapel, a secular priest, curé of the parish of

Quebec. In recognition of the eminent services of the Sulpicians at Montreal, he conferred the same office on one of them, a Mons. Souart, who had the merit of appearing to be more submissive than his brethren to the authority of the *Saint Siège* (Holy See), as represented by himself. Close as his relations may have been with the Jesuits, he did not think it wise to retain them in the fulfilment of parochial duties, and consequently relegated them to the performance of their proper functions as educators and missionaries to the natives.

As a member of the Governor's Council, the Bishop within a month of his landing received his first lesson in Indian diplomacy at the grand council held with the Mohawk ambassadors, who came to plead for the release of their tribesmen, held as hostages; and he was perhaps gratified, perhaps bored, by a theatrical performance given in his honor by the pupils of the Jesuits in their chapel. Indian and white scholars took part in these exhibitions, which testified, not only to the efficiency of the teaching, but to the breadth of the system of Jesuit education, which, while rigid, adjusted itself to the weaknesses of human nature. His sympathy for the Indians was early brought into exercise, as we find him paying half the ransom for two Iroquois prisoners before he had been three months in the country.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Breaking Out of the Contest Between the Church and the State.

The first inkling of the Bishop's assertion of the pre-eminence of the Church over the State, and of its ministers over the officers who wielded civil power, is given in the Jesuits' Journal of the December after his arrival. On the eve of the festival of St. Xavier the fathers would fain have asked the Governor and the Bishop both to dinner, but dare not for fear of fanning into a flame the smouldering quarrel over the right to the first place at the feast. This Governor, the Viscount d'Argenson, was not a very masterful man, yet he was sufficiently proud of his lineage and of his office to resent the assumptions of the Bishop.

The first recorded controversy turned on the trifling question as to which of them should occupy the seat of honor within the altar rails. Had Laval been the Bishop of Quebec, and not merely Vicar Apostolic, with titular rank as Bishop, the dispute could not have arisen. It was settled as the Bishop, who was determined to be a real Bishop, willed. A further quarrel grew out of the midnight Christmas mass. The Governor had heretofore been incensed by the Deacon. The Bishop's instructions were that he should henceforth be incensed not by the Deacon, but by the Thurifer and after the Clergy. The controversy waxed very hot. The Governor based his case on precedent, and the text of the Ceremonial. The Bishop based his on what he claimed was the custom in France. The intention of the Bishop clearly was to exalt the claims of the Church above the civil power, and of the clergy above the officers of State, more especially when the former were performing their sacred functions in the house of God. Some adjustment of the quarrel, we are not told what, was brought about by the Jesuits.

On Epiphany in 1660, the providing of the *Pain Bénit* fell to the soldiers of the garrison, on which occasion they marched from the Fort to the offering, with drums beating and fifes playing, and in like manner came again to the church at the end of the mass. The Bishop was shocked by the interruption and unnecessary noise. Nevertheless, when they brought him the *chanteau* (a piece of the *Pain Bénit* offered to the person who was expected to preside on the following Sunday), he returned the compliment by the gift of two pots of brandy and two pounds of tobacco. Though subsequently the Bishop fought valiantly against the sale of liquor to the Indians, it is evident that he was not by any means a prohibitionist. When it was the Governor's turn to provide the *Pain Bénit*, and the drums and fifes again took part in the ceremony, the Bishop interposed and insisted that henceforth the *Pain Bénit* must be delivered at the church before the mass. In Holy Week the Governor by mistake knelt on the Bishop's cushion at the altar rail, and when he discovered the error, rather than move to his own, he left the church. Incidents of this kind must have amused the onlookers, even in Holy Week. The Governor, whether from a desire to avoid misunderstandings, or from lack of devotion, was not very punctual in his church attendance. This may have been the Bishop's excuse for striking his name from the list of Honorary Churchwardens without notification. The Bishop's own dignity and position were not in this instance in question, and his act bears the appearance of a harsh and arbitrary exercise of ecclesiastical authority, admitting that he acted entirely within his prerogative. But Bishop Laval never lost an opportunity of proving to his flock, not only that he was clothed with power, but that he had courage to use it against all who opposed themselves. Mons. d'Argenson, people could not help remembering, had been the host and friend of the Abbé Queylus.

It was not only in matters affecting his own pretensions, however, that the Bishop went to the very limits of his authority. For example, he removed a serving girl from the house of a respectable citizen, a M. Denis, and put her in charge of the Ursuline Nuns. The only explanation he vouchsafed was that, un-

der the seal of the confessional, he might have become acquainted with information that warranted the act. The Journal of the Jesuits in December, 1660, contains the following interesting entry: "Barbe Halé was brought from Beauport. She had been for five or six months possessed at intervals by a devil. At first she was put into a room of the old hospital, where she passed the night in the company of a guardian of her own sex, and of a priest and attendants." The story is only half told. The other half is delightfully narrated by Madame de l'Incarnation. It seems that there was a certain miller who was adjudged by the Church an apostate and a magician. He, by his diabolical arts, had bewitched the girl and persuaded her to marry him. The proof of his intercourse with the devil was that the poor hysterical girl declared that he visited her by day and by night, after demons had appeared to frighten her. The Bishop sent the Jesuits to exorcise the devil, and he himself adopted measures to the same end; but Beauport was so far away that he decided on placing the girl under the charge of the Hôtel Dieu nuns, and putting her sweetheart in prison. This treatment, it must be acknowledged, was mild compared with the fate which would have overtaken the pair in New England. The authority of the Church in Canada, sagaciously administered by responsible men, had at least the effect of restraining such mental vagaries as were attributed to witchcraft in New England and Germany, and which in those countries were punished by most cruel penalties. The Bishop held that neither the crime of witchcraft, nor yet those of heresy and blasphemy, fell under the jurisdiction of the civil power; and Father Lalemant, in 1661, tells us that the quarrel between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities came nearly to extremities over a sentence passed, probably by the Bishop's ecclesiastical tribunal, on a certain Daniel Vvil. He, perhaps, was the heretic who had renounced his errors so opportunely and dramatically on the occasion of the Bishop's first mass; if, so, he now figured in another act, for shortly after Governor d'Argenson handed over his cares and his quarrels to his successor, d'Avaugour, poor Daniel Vvil was summarily shot for having relapsed into heresy, and another was shot for the

crime of selling brandy to the Indians. The Bishop was no advocate for half measures when moral suasion proved ineffective.

Before Governor d'Argenson left Canada one unseemly insult had followed another. In February, on a public occasion, the children who were acting in some performance were assigned parts which kept their hands so busy that instruction was given them not to salute either the Governor or the Bishop, both of whom were present. Two little urchins, however, by direction of their father, saluted the Governor to the great offense of the Bishop, for which they were soundly flogged by their spiritual fathers. Immediately after this incident, the Governor's suite, "so-called gentlemen," as Father Lalemant sneeringly calls them, took their place in a procession after the Governor and in advance of the churchwardens. This led the Bishop to forbid all future processions. It would have been well if the prohibition had remained in force, but on the *Fête Dieu* a public procession took place, as previously. A temporary altar stood before the Fort. The Bishop had requested that the soldiers take off their hats on the approach of the Host, and to this the Governor, who was ill and not present, consented; but when the procession was approaching the Bishop further insisted that the soldiers kneel, on pain of his passing and not exposing the Host upon the altar. Knowing that his consent would be interpreted as a relinquishment of his military command into the hands of the Bishop, the Governor refused and the Bishop accordingly executed his threat.

Terrible events were meanwhile transpiring in the Colony, which was never nearer destruction at the hands of the Iroquois than at that moment. That the Bishop would in such a crisis have intentionally weakened the military and civil influence of the Governor is not to be believed, for the Bishop was a patriot; yet he was possessed with such an almost fanatical belief in the sacredness of his office, and so unquestioning a reliance on divine guidance, that he was blind to the consequences of his acts. He had yet to learn that, even in a colony swept clean of heresy, there might be a certain spirit of defiance of, if not disbelief in, ecclesiastical authority; and that, unless the civil power co-operated in maintaining moral order, the ecclesiastical authority, appealing only to the conscience, might fail.

If Governor d'Avaugour, d'Argenson's successor, consented, immediately on entering on his office, to the execution of Violette and another culprit for selling liquors, he speedily repented, for in January and February Father Lalemant records in the Journal that there was no little noise over the permission granted by the Governor to sell liquor to the Indians. D'Avaugour was a just man, and of inflexible determination and consistency. After having inflicted the death penalty on one culprit, and listened to the violent denunciations launched by the Bishop against all who sold brandy to the Indians, he was not prepared for a sudden change of policy, when Father Lalemant pleaded with him for a French woman convicted, on full evidence, of the same crime. In the eyes of the Governor the kindly motive of the suppliant was no excuse for his inconsistency. Not only was the request vehemently refused, but, identifying opposition to the liquor trade with ecclesiastical ultra-pretensions, the Governor came to regard the moral and humanitarian position of the Bishop and his clergy as a mere pretext for the usurpation of authority belonging to the civil power. D'Avaugour was utterly indifferent and careless as to the trifling matters of precedence which had so worried his predecessor. As far as he was concerned, in these the Bishop might have his own way: he was quite willing to walk after the churchwardens, or to let the soldiers both kneel and take off their hats to the Host; for his part he was girding up his loins to fight the Bishop on what he regarded as a more weighty issue. He began by what in modern parlance would be called packing the Council. Of his own authority he removed certain members and appointed others, replacing even the syndics, and also made other innovations. He was preparing to fight the Bishop *à outrance* on a question—that relating to the sale of brandy—on which the latter could command but little support in the Colony. With a quick perception of the situation, Laval took ship for France in August, 1661, to plead his cause at the foot of the throne. So effectually did he do so, that he returned to his diocese in thirteen months, with d'Avaugour's recall in his wallet, and with a Governor of his own choosing in his train—the Chevalier de Mézy.

One of Governor d'Avaugour's moves to weaken the influence

of the Jesuits and the Bishop in the Council had been the suppression of the office of the City syndic, who had a seat, and who sided with the priests. It was an unwise, as well as an irregular act, for in so doing, he deprived the city of its municipal chief, and disorganized what little local government existed, and consequently the machinery for the suppression of crime. In the winter of 1663 thieving was rife, and in one case, in which the thief, to cover his crime, set fire to a house, the death penalty was inflicted. The priests attributed the frequency of the crime to the disregard of the Bishop's excommunication of those who sold liquor. A more natural explanation might have been found in the weakening of the civil power, owing to dissension between the Governor and the Bishop. The Governor had been publicly insulted in his person and in his office, and the Bishop was known to be in France using every effort to supplant him. The situation was one well adapted to encourage the criminal classes.

On the 16th of September, 1663, the King's ship brought back the Bishop, and with him the new Governor. The Chevalier de Mézy had been one of the Bishop's companions in the Bernières Hermitage at Caen, and was the nominee of the Jesuits and the Bishop's own choice. In the instructions given two years afterward to the Intendant Talon, he is told that it was due to the complaints of the Jesuits that *Sieur d'Avaugour* had been recalled, and that the king, in order to satisfy them, had further allowed them to nominate his successor. The dispatch goes on to narrate how their choice fell on de Mézy, who they had no doubt would act in conformity with their wishes; but that they had made a mistake, for, when once in power, he gave free rein to his passions, his greed, etc., etc.

Thus the Bishop, in the eyes of the people must have appeared to be endowed with the powers of a Minister of State, able to make and unmake viceroys; and the prelate himself, we may be sure, did not put any lower estimate on his own influence. What transpired during de Mézy's short administration to transform the friendship existing between him and the Bishop into bitter enmity is not clearly recorded; but that veracious document, the

Jesuits' Journal, indicates at least the progress of the alienation.

The Governor and the Bishop arrived together. On the feast of St. Xavier they dined with the Jesuits in their refectory on refectory fare. On the first of January the Governor and the Bishop take part in the Vespers procession, and the Governor invites the Bishop to dine with him, but not the Superior of the Jesuits, though he (Father Lalemant) and the Governor's confessor, Father Pijart, had made their customary New Year call. Almost the next entry tells of the breaking out of trouble over the payment of tithes, and then follows a reference to public disorder in the way of drunkenness and to the blasts and counterblasts of the Bishop and the Governor over the sale of liquor to the Indians.

The mention of the Governor's name at high ecclesiastical functions is now dropped; and as the alliance between the Bishop and the Jesuits was known to be close, it was probably deemed wise as a concession to public opinion, and as a proof of the independence of the Bishop, that all the secular clergy should leave the Jesuits' quarters. Personally the relations of the quondam friends had become so strained that the two would not even travel together. On the 25th of April, 1664, Father le Moyne returned from the Iroquois country, bearing the report of an important negotiation. The Bishop started next day for Three Rivers and Montreal, the Governor following two days subsequently. By September open war was declared. The Jesuits claimed that the Governor was acting under the instigation of Peronne Dumesnil, the agent of the extinguished Company of the One Hundred Associates. We know that he arbitrarily dismissed from the Council Bourdon, de Villeray, and d'Auteuil, because they sided with the Bishop against himself on the tithes question. Such action was not only arbitrary, but unconstitutional. His next step was even more prejudicial to himself in the eyes of the King, when the proceedings were reported. He had the astounding folly to propose to the Bishop that the successors of the deposed Councillors should be elected by popular vote. This of course the Bishop refused to agree to. Bourdon, one of the deposed Councillors, sailed on the 21st of September to lay the case before the

King. On the 24th the Governor nominated new Councillors. The Bishop protested. On the 28th the Governor published the names of the new Councillors. On November 1st the Bishop instructed Mons. Pommier to denounce him and his illegal acts from the pulpit, and to fulminate against him a decree of excommunication. The instruction was obeyed and the Governor's Jesuit confessor, being bound to respect the excommunication, could neither accept his Excellency's confession nor grant him absolution.

The quarrel had been carried into municipal affairs, and the inhabitants of the town all became participants. The people elected as their syndic a M. Charron. He was persuaded to resign, on the pretext that he was a merchant, but really through clerical pressure, because he was a friend of the Governor. Party feeling thereupon ran so high that the next attempt at an election failed. In the third, which was attended by some irregularities, a Mons. Lemire, a friend of the Governor, was elected, and a protest was lodged by the Bishop's adherents in the Council, led by M. de Charny as the Bishop's representative. The Bishop kept his temper—the Governor lost his. Technically the Bishop was in the right; at the same time he took the most ingenious means of exasperating his foe. To pray for your enemies in private is laudable; praying for them as sinners publicly is to insult them. It is a weapon which exists only in the armory of the Church, and the Bishop used it freely and without scruple.

Still, on New Year's day of 1665, the usual courtesies were observed. The Jesuits called on the Governor, although, as Father Lalemant remarks, "he was on bad terms, not only with them, but with all the priests." The Governor, not to be backward in courtesy, sent his Major to return the call, and took the opportunity of forwarding by him the vouchers for the Jesuits' allowance, which he had for some time held back. The Governor's health was failing. During Lent he became so seriously ill that he was removed by his own wish to the hospital of the Hôtel Dieu. As death approached he sought the good offices of the Jesuits, and through them made peace with his enemy. The ban was removed; he con-

fessed, received absolution, and died in odour of sanctity on May 7th. He was buried in the common burying ground of the Hôtel Dieu, in conformity with his own request as expressed in his will, but no doubt with such state and circumstance as the Church with its limited resources could muster to do honor to a vanquished and repentant sinner. On this point, however, the *Relations* and the *Journal* are both silent.

Thus the second French Governor who died in office lies in an unmonumented grave. In trying to estimate the character of the Governor and to render judgment between him and the Bishop, due account must be taken of the ambiguities of the Constitution which they were trying to put into force, and which left their respective positions dangerously indefinite. In the constitution of the Sovereign Council and the prominent place assigned to the Bishop—a rank almost co-ordinate with that of the Governor himself—we clearly see the influence of the Queen Mother whose papal connections caused her to take very strongly the side of ecclesiastical authority. Laval was probably not exceeding his powers, nor yet the private instructions given him when he took out de Mézy almost as a member of his ecclesiastical establishment. But many years of this joint, but really disjointed, civil-ecclesiastical rule had not elapsed before Colbert, with the clear vision of a statesman, recognized the impossibility of maintaining order and prosperity, where elements so irreconcilable were yoked together in the work of administration. As early as 1667 the Minister found himself regretting that the Bishop had a seat in the Council.

De Mézy, it is evident, was an impulsive, enthusiastic, ill-balanced man. In his youth he is said to have been wild. License was succeeded by austerity, and as Laval's companion and fellow-inmate of the Caen Hermitage, he showed himself so obedient to authority that, when the selection of a Governor for Canada was virtually entrusted to Laval, he selected him as likely to be completely submissive to his episcopal dictation in the new state, the Constitution of which the Bishop himself had framed. But the Bishop had not counted on another phase of his friend's character—a stubborn obstinacy and unreasonable suspicion,

coupled with a temper violent when aroused. The Bishop was no less obstinate than the Governor, but he had been educated in a Jesuit College. He had learned the first lessons of the astute code of the Society of Jesus—absolute obedience to your Superior and control over yourself. In Canada he recognized no superior. The thought of his high and sacred office completely dominated his mind, and with calm, unflinching determination he carried out his duty as he understood it. He was obeying the dictate of Heaven, as revealed to and formulated by himself. That he was doing irreparable injury to the Colony by weakening public respect for the law, in the person of its chief representatives, would not have arrested him in his course, even could he have appreciated the fact. That such was the case was proved by the increase in the Indian liquor traffic, despite the re-enactment of the prohibitions, with the approval of the Governor, who agreed in this respect with the Bishop. De Mézy was palpably in the wrong, and yet so maddened was he by the calm and exasperating acts of his foe, that we cannot but pity him. Had de Mézy been the only Governor with whom the Bishop quarreled, we might attribute the fault entirely to him; but no, he was only one in a succession of Governors with all of whom the same Bishop either had quarreled or was destined to quarrel on one plea or another. Unless the civil Governor would bow implicitly to his will and opinion, no matter what the question at issue, he would use against him all the artillery of the Church. To doubt his own infallibility on certain questions never occurred—could not occur—to him. To win over his enemy by propitiatory tactics was not in his nature. The charity which suffers long and is kind was not a characteristic of Canada's first Bishop, at this period of his life.

The reports made by the Bishop of the Governor's misdeeds, confirmed by Bourdon's personal appeal to the King for redress, led to de Mézy's recall. M. de Courcelle, who came out as his successor, M. de Tracy, who was appointed to the still higher office of Viceroy and Lieutenant-general of all the possessions of France in the New World, and the Intendant Talon, were commissioned to investigate the charges against him, and, if they were found true, to send him under arrest to France. He had died

before their arrival; but it is not probable that they would have found him guilty of any crime punishable by a more serious forfeit than loss of his office, and of that he had already been deprived. The new rulers themselves had not been long in the country before the Governor at least commenced to smart under the thralldom of his ecclesiastical colleagues in the Council; and it required all the tact of his associates to prevent a recurrence of the disorders they had come out commissioned to correct. Colbert had to warn the Governor to behave with tenderness towards everyone, and to restrain his irritation, and not cast blame publicly on the actions of the Bishop. Talon, the Intendant, having Gallican tendencies was impatient under the yoke. The deposed members of the Council were nevertheless restored, and only one of de Mézy's appointees, de la Tesserie, was re-appointed. Bourdon was made *Procureur Général*, and M. de Villeray Deputy Chairman of the Council. By this action the chiefs of the State justified the Bishop and the Jesuits and condemned de Mézy, who, there can be little doubt, was carried by his passionate narrowness into committing acts of injustice, when he accepted Dumesnil's indictment of friends of the Bishop and of the priests without sufficient investigation and proof.

The first friction between the new Governor and the ecclesiastical authorities occurred after de Courcelle's unfortunate and ill-advised winter expedition against the Iroquois. He was to have been joined by a large party of Algonquins. As they failed to keep their engagement, and thus left him without guides, the enterprise ignominiously failed. The Governor blamed the Jesuits for the perfidy of their converts, and the Intendant sided with him in his opinion or his prejudice. Whether he was right or not is incapable of determination, but the incident affords proof, if proof be needed, of the incongruity of using ministers of religion to conduct negotiations of State, and of the complications which are almost sure to ensue. The Jesuits had been used as instruments of statecraft in the dealings of the colonial Government with both the Iroquois and the Algonquins. Even Lahontan admits that their intimate knowledge of the Indian languages and of Indian customs made the enlistment of

their services almost a matter of necessity. At the same time, by accepting such commissions, they exposed themselves to blame which often should have rested on the perfidious savages with whom they had to deal.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Laval as Bishop of Quebec, and the Tithes Question.

The Marquis de Tracy came out as Viceroy to hold office only temporarily, his special mission being to restore peace and establish equilibrium between the Church and the State. At that time, when the influence of the Queen Mother and her Jesuit directors was paramount, it was expected that these two forces would combine to enable France to fulfill in America her double mission of empire-builder and evangelizer. As long as the personal influence of the Viceroy was exerted, Courcelle as Governor and Talon as Intendant maintained an attitude of respectful deference to the ecclesiastical power; but neither during his first nor his second administration could Talon reconcile himself to the pretensions of Laval, while Courcelle was overtly hostile to both the Bishop and the Jesuits. It was in consequence doubtless of the opposition they manifested that the Bishop wrote to the Propaganda shortly after his departure from Canada, in 1671: "I have learned by long experience how little weight the title of Vicar Apostolic carries with those charged with the political business of the king's colony. I mean the officers of Court, who are perpetually at odds with, and casting contempt on, the ecclesiastical power, objecting that the authority of a Vicar Apostolic is a doubtful quantity and should be kept in check. This is the reason why, after mature consideration, I have come to the conclusion to throw up my charge and not return to New France, unless I am created a Bishop, and unless fortified by bulls constituting me the Ordinary. This is the purpose of my journey to France, and this my earnest prayer."

Thus he wrote prior to 1671, though in the previous year

Quebec had been erected into a town by the Consistorial Congregation, and its parish church made a Cathedral. The French Court was anxious that he should be created a Bishop, with full episcopal powers; nevertheless three years of negotiation between the See of Rome and Louis XIV intervened before his consecration took place. The difficulty grew out of the revival of the old claims of the See of Rouen to exercise episcopal jurisdiction in Canada. The Crown of France wanted to bind the new colony, ecclesiastically, through its Bishop, to a French archiepiscopal see. The Pope refused to nominate a Bishop, unless he were made directly responsible to the See of Rome, and unless the new diocese were placed on a footing which would preclude any such claims to local independence as were then being mooted by the Church in France. The King had ultimately to yield to the Pope, and subsequent events justified in great measure the wisdom of the papal contention; for when the country passed from the dominion of France to that of Great Britain, the transfer caused no such complications as would have resulted had the Church in Canada been subject to Gallican jurisdiction.

It was September, 1675, before Bishop Laval returned to Quebec as its Bishop. Notable changes had taken place during his absence. Governor de Courcelle had been recalled three years before; Canada had greeted in his place Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, a man who meant to be Governor in reality, and not merely in name; the Intendant Talon had taken his departure a month or two after the new Governor's arrival. The latter had been carrying things with a high hand. Two priests had already been thrown into prison. The first of these was Mons. Morel, who exercised curial functions on the South Shore; his offence was refusing to recognize the jurisdiction of the Council when summoned to answer for alleged irregularities committed by himself and his churchwardens. The second was the Abbé Fenelon, a Sulpician, elder brother of the great Fenelon, who siding with Mons. Perrot, the Governor of Montreal, in a contest which he was waging with the Governor General, had denounced Frontenac from the pulpit as a tyrant. Having in consequence been cited before the Coun-

[Faint, mostly illegible handwritten text in French, likely a legal document or contract. The text is written in a cursive script typical of the 17th or 18th century. It appears to be a marriage contract, as indicated by the caption. The text is spread across several lines and columns, with some words being more legible than others. The document is aged and shows signs of wear, including stains and fading.]

Signatures to the Marriage Contract of Charles Aubert de la Chenaye and Louise Juchereau de la Ferte, of Laval, Madam de la Peltrie, and Gov. de Courcelle.

cil, he appeared, but merely to deny its right to try him; and so he followed Mons. Morel to prison. Mons. de Bernières, the Bishop's representative had also been summoned before the Council to give evidence in the Fenelon case. He obeyed the summons, but claimed his right to the Bishop's seat. Frontenac refused to recognize the claim on the plea that Mons. de Tracy had altered the constitution of the Council, and that neither the Bishop nor his representative had for years taken part in its deliberations. In this case, however, the Governor did not go to the length of imprisonment. Matters had reached a deadlock, owing to the indisposition of the Council to render definite judgment, and the whole case had been referred to the King. Frontenac had been appointed while Laval was still in France, and his masterful and domineering character must have been well known to the Bishop. The idea seems a plausible one that he was chosen by Colbert to counteract the power of the Church; so that while the King was with one hand strengthening the position of Laval, he was, with the other, signing the commission of a Governor, who was expected to prevent any ecclesiastical encroachment on the province of the State.

The contest between Laval and d'Avaugour over questions of precedence, and that between the Bishop and de Mézy over tithes and the appointment of councillors, were mere skirmishes compared with the battle which was now imminent. The prospect of a fight with an adversary like Frontenac must have impelled Laval to hurry back to his see. During his absence sad gaps had been made in the little group of his intimate and sympathetic friends. The first generation of the makers of Canada was passing away. He had probably helped to lay to rest, just before sailing from France, the remains of the great Cardinal's niece, the Duchess d'Aiguillon. Madame de la Peltrie, that charming embodiment of religious devotion and impulsive generosity, whose house was at everyone's disposal, had breathed her last in November, 1671, in the nunnery of the Ursulines, of which she was the lay founder. Less than six months later she was followed to the grave by her devoted

partner, the Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, the first Lady Superior of the Ursulines. It often happens that the closest friends differ diametrically in disposition; and it may, therefore, have been because of their wide diversity of character that these two Pious women remained through life such ardent admirers of each other's virtues, and co-operated so actively, though by opposite methods, in the same noble work—the one almost too busy in worldly affairs, the other almost a mystic; the one winning the Indians by her solicitude for their temporal welfare, the other attracting them to herself and the Church, through the same quietness of spirit and demeanor, and the same proneness to dreams and ecstatic visions, which are conspicuous in the Indian's own character. The latter, notwithstanding the touch of exaltation in her character, was a woman of rare good sense, whose letters are more valuable as sources of contemporary history than even the *Relations* of the Jesuits. They describe simply but graphically what was occurring in the little community, every event of interest in which was known and well talked over within the walls of the nunnery before being written down for the enlightenment and edification of her dear son, Claude Martin. They were not indited, as were the *Relations*, for the purpose of exciting emotion or of drawing pecuniary contributions from the devout laity of France.

These were not the only losses sustained by the religious community of Canada. In the year following the translation of Mère de l'Incarnation there passed away Père Jerome Lalemant, who had been twice Superior of the Canadian mission; had spent years in active service with the Hurons before their dispersion; had crossed and recrossed the sea to plead for the Indians in France; and had for the last time returned to Quebec with Bishop Laval himself in 1659, when sixty-six years old. He was seventy-two years old before he resigned the office of Superior for the last time to Father Mercier. The entries in his journal bespeak a growing querulousness rather than the mellowness of spirit which we like to think of as associated with advancing years. Nevertheless, he was doubtless to many others what Mère de l'Incarnation said he was to her—"Of all men in the world the one

to whom she owed the most for his spiritual advice,"—one also, as she further acknowledges, from whom she had received valuable worldly counsel in the establishment and management of her nunnery. To Laval, ignorant of the characteristics of the native races, and of the temper of the colonists, Lalemant's conversation on their long sea voyage, and his counsel in many trying dilemmas afterwards, must have been invaluable and most welcome. It may be doubted at the same time whether his advice was always for the best, for Lalemant's predilections and opinions harmonized too completely with the Bishop's to fit him for a peacemaker. Now he was gone—with his eighty years of experience and his deeply implanted prejudices—and the Bishop himself was growing too old to make any more close friends.

A still more picturesque figure disappeared during the same period—Mdlle. Jeanne Mance, one of the lay founders of the Hôtel Dieu of Montreal, who had braved all the dangers of the Iroquois war, when Montreal was protected by nothing better than a stockade. She, however, was a figure with which Quebec was but little familiar.

It did not help to console the Bishop for the loss of so many of his old friends to find the Recollet Fathers, whom he had been obliged to welcome by order of the King before his departure, in favor alike with the people and the civil powers. The Franciscans had never abandoned their hope of returning to their work, and re-entering on the possession of their property in Canada. The Company of the One Hundred Associates, however, considered that the payment of a subsidy to one religious body was burden enough; while the Jesuits naturally preferred not to share the glory of converting the continent with the members of an order with which, though it had given to the Church many saintly lives, they had few points of similarity, and consequently only a moderate degree of sympathy. Still the Jesuits were not universally popular, and thus, while the friars on one side of the Atlantic longed to return, there was a large section of the people on the other which as heartily wished to see their sandaled feet treading again the banks of the St. Charles. Tradition remembered their ecclesiastical rule

as mild compared with the iron thralldom of the Bishop and his Jesuit co-laborers. Doubtless the laxity of the earlier regime was exaggerated in memory, while the grievances of the present were aggravated by political feeling and party dissension. A certain section of the people had always been disposed to be restive under priestly dominance, and these, since the time of de Lauzon, had formed a more or less coherent party, sympathizing with the Governor in his quarrel with the Church.

The imposition of tithes which was popularly regarded as a piece of ecclesiastical robbery, had helped to bring about the return of the Recollets. Some of the old inhabitants remembered the mendicant friars who had lived and labored among them without demanding tithes or fees, to say nothing of enforcing them by process of law, and they asked to have them back. Mons. Talon had been only too glad in this instance to obey the popular voice, and exert his influence for their recall, hoping to use them as a buffer against the Bishop and his allies. Consequently, when he returned to France at the expiry of his first term of office, in 1668, he secured the assent of the King to the return of the Recollets, and induced His Majesty to embody it in an edict, in which they were bidden to resume their duties, and authorized to re-enter on the possession of their property in Canada. The first detachment of the Fathers sent out suffered shipwreck and all were lost; but in 1670 Pierre Germain Allard, Provincial of the Order, himself accompanied three friar priests, a deacon Frère Luc, renowned as a painter, and a *convers*, in order to see them installed at their work in their old monastery, and to secure for them such a reception by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities as the King's support and their former labors in the country entitled them to.

When they arrived Courcelle was still Governor, and was as strongly opposed to the Bishop as the lingering influence of his official guide and mentor, M. de Tracy, allowed him to be. Laval was still Vicar Apostolic, and grieving that the lack of full episcopal dignity derogated from his influence. The Governor and his colleague, the Intendant, were not disposed to use the Friars offensively against the Jesuits or the secular clergy, and the Recollets themselves were religiously intent only on preparing themselves,

by learning the native language, and familiarizing themselves with the country, to re-engage in the missionary work which they had so successfully inaugurated more than half a century before. Subsequently their attitude toward the Bishop changed. Having no independent sources of revenue, they lived by begging, or, to speak euphemistically, by accepting voluntary contributions. All countries, however, where such professional ecclesiastical mendicants have become numerous, have found that, after the first flush of real religious enthusiasm has waned, the work actually done by them is quite as costly as that performed by the paid clergy, if not more so. But just as people are ready to pay more in indirect taxation for the support of the State than they would be willing to contribute in direct assessment, the amount of which on each occasion they are distinctly aware of, so there is a seeming advantage in the gratuitous enjoyment of spiritual ministrations by beings so saintly that they live on nothing. Sooner or later it is discovered that there is an underlying fallacy somewhere. Italy and Spain and all the former dependencies of the latter country have made the discovery to their cost. Canada was saved by the strong sense of Bishop Laval from the inroad of the monks, and this is one of the blessings for which the Church and people of Canada have to thank him. He was as austere and simple in his mode of life as they, but he wished to see the church placed on a sound financial footing, and with that mendicacy was incompatible.

It was, however, not only in their pretence of rendering service without remuneration that the Recollets ran counter to the Bishop's plans. When the feud broke out between Frontenac, as champion of the rights of the State, and Duchesneau, who came to Canada as Intendant in 1675, and who, owing his appointment to Bishop Laval, was entirely on the side of the Church, the Recollets became ardent partisans of the Governor, professing their obligation to obey his commands, even if they contradicted those of the Bishop. They carried the controversy into the pulpit, to the great indignation of the Bishop, who seemingly forgot that he had himself used the same unassailable platform from which to attack Frontenac's less powerful and resourceful predecessor, Mézy.

An instance of this occurred when Laval appointed a certain local friar, Father Adrian, to preach the Advent sermon in the Cathedral. The preacher in his discourse more than hinted at his disapproval of the alliance of the Jesuits and the secular clergy with the Intendant, Duchesneau, against the Governor; whereupon the Bishop called him to account, and imposed silence on him in regard to matters not affecting morals or doctrine. The episcopal admonition was not received, however, with perfect submission, for the preacher claimed that, once in the pulpit, he was under the inspiration of a higher power than even the Bishop, and dared not refrain from uttering the message entrusted to him by the Spirit.

While the Recollets were thus asserting their independence, preaching and administering the sacraments beyond the limits prescribed by the Bishop, and bringing the parochial clergy into disfavor, they were, despite their vows of poverty, accumulating considerable property. On their return, their first effort was to restore their monastery of Notre Dame des Anges, which grew rapidly into large proportions. As it was a mile and a half, however, from the center of the town, they petitioned the King for a lot in the upper town on which to build a *hospice*, where the sick of their own order would be nearer medical assistance than on the banks of the St. Charles. This petition was granted in 1681, and a large lot, known as the "emplacement de la Sénéchaussée," covering part of the enclosure now occupied by the English Cathedral and also a part of the Place d'Armes, was given them. The Bishop's Grand Vicar, Mons. de Bernières, and Mons. Soûart, a Sulpician from Montreal, assisted in the official act of taking possession; and the Bishop, not without serious misgiving, consented to the erection of the *hospice*, but only on the conditions attached to the grant by the King, namely, that it should be used solely for the treatment of the sick of the Order, and that mass should be said with doors closed to the public. But the Recollets were expert financiers. The King allowed them the small sum of 1,200 livres for their support, on express condition that they forbore to beg; and they not only succeeded in living on this trifling sum, but in building a monastery and a church on the site of the unpretentious

hospice. La Tour, Laval's first biographer ("Memoire sur la vie de Mons. de Laval, Cologne, 1761,") gives a terse account of the wonderful development of this humble *hospice*. "A beginning was all that was needed. Every germ is fertile if planted by a monk. The infirmary soon became a hospice for all the monks, whether sound or sick, and the hospice grew into a convent. The latter became a chapel, and the chapel transformed itself into a church. A choir and a sacristy grew up together. A dormitory was added to the infirmary, and a refectory and kitchen were necessary adjuncts to the dormitory. The doors which at first were shut during the celebration of mass opened of their own accord. At first only some devout penitents entered, but soon the public followed. Low mass became high mass, and one by one all the functions of the priesthood were exercised. They preached; they heard confessions; they celebrated the feasts of their order. A bell was hung in the steeple, merely to remind the monks of their religious observances, but it also called the people to worship."

The Recollet Monastery was built partially on the site of the present English Cathedral, but as few houses divided the Place d'Armes from the present market place, the Cathedral and the Jesuit Church stood in sight of one another; and the monks, officiating in their detested conventicle, despite episcopal disapproval, were drawing away the parishioners from the teachings of the secular clergy, and sowing political discord. The Bishop could not silence the monks' tongues, but at least he succeeded in silencing the unlawful ringing of the monastery bell. Its clapper remained dumb until Bishop Saint Vallier bought their monastery of Notre Dame Des Anges, and converted it into the General Hospital relieving them, as a condition of the transaction, from the restriction which Bishop Laval had imposed upon their ministrations in the Upper Town.*

The monks, through the persistency with which they invaded

*It should be mentioned to their credit that they were free enough from bigotry to permit of the Episcopal service being performed in their chapels at Quebec and Montreal, before the Protestant Episcopal church was able to provide church accommodation for their own body.

the established parishes, and preached and administered the sacraments, instead of confining their ministrations to the four Indian nations to which they had been assigned, were naturally a source of intense irritation to the Bishop, who felt that, by their assumption of a character of peculiar sanctity, they disturbed that implicit confidence in the *curé* which it was so important that parishioners should repose in their appointed pastor. It has not therefore been without reason that the secular clergy have always looked with jealousy on the monastic orders. It is right to add that, if the monks have so long relieved Canada of their presence, the reason is to be sought, not only in the severity of the climate—unsuited to their peculiar costume, the very cut of which is as sacred as the rule of their order—but also in the fact that the clergy, preserving the pure tradition of the seminary founded by Laval, have fulfilled their spiritual functions so thoroughly and so faithfully that there was no room left for interlopers. If the itinerant monks were temporarily welcome until the *curé* became a national institution dear to every French Canadian heart, it may have been, as Bishop Creighton truly, but half jocularly, pointed out, because “naturally men preferred to confess to a wandering friar, whom they had never seen before, and hoped never to see again, rather than to their parish priest, whose rebuke and admonition might follow them at times when the spirit of contrition was not so strong within them.” The position of the monks was unstable while Laval was Bishop, but Bishop Saint Vallier found them useful as allies in his controversy with the Seminary and the Seminary priests, and gave them a status in the city which had been refused them by his predecessor.

Laval's observations during his many years' residence in the colony had convinced him that the Jesuit fathers, by reason of the rules of their order, were not fitted to fill the functions of parish priests; and, therefore, while he was in France in 1663, he issued an order establishing the Seminary in Quebec for the education and maintenance of priests, whether they were occupied in teaching or in serving the parishes. He further ordained that the tithe of one-thirteenth of the produce of the farms should be payable to the Seminary, to which the parish priest was to remain

attached as to a collegiate body, though removable at the will of the Bishop. The inhabitants of the parish of Quebec, which at that time covered the seignories of Lauzon and part of the Island of Orleans, were for some years to pay only one-twentieth. On October 10th, 1663, the Supreme Council, which was constituted immediately after the Bishop's return, registered the tithe ordinance, and it was confirmed by Royal patent.

But the poor, struggling *habitants* did not submit to the imposition and collection of these dues without a murmur, rising almost into revolt, and Governor de Mézy sided with them. La Tour says that a section of the Council opposed the registration of the letters patent, and that de Mézy appealed to the King on behalf of the *habitants*, claiming that the imposition would ruin them and the country, and arrest further immigration. The exact scope of the imposition was also a matter of dispute. The wording of the ordinance, as drawn by the Bishop, was that the tithes were to be paid, not only on the produce of human labor, but on what the land produced by itself, *tant de ce qui naît du travail des hommes que de ce que la terre produit d'elle même*. When the opposition became violent and widespread, the act was interpreted as applying only to agricultural products, the fruit of the soil and the direct results of human industry, and not, therefore, to lumber, and still less to manufactured articles; but the wording of the ordinance is so vague and comprehensive that it may well have given rise to apprehension that the clergy would claim a large percentage of the total wealth of the whole country. In this matter, however, Laval displayed a forbearance and reasonableness remarkably at variance with his attitude on points of prerogative and on the liquor question. The noble side of his character is here shown in a strong light. To him it seemed that, however necessary it might be that the servants of the Church should be endowed with independent means of subsistence, yet he and his clergy could live for a time on charity without injury to their sacred character; on the other hand, as Bishop of New France, he felt that the position of his successors to all time would depend on his stubborn defence of the episcopal prerogative. As to the sale of brandy to the

Indians, it involved, in his opinion, their very souls' salvation, and was, therefore, not a matter for compromise.

There were, it is true, many other interests more important to the colony and more worthy of consideration, even by the head of the Church, than the prerogatives of the clergy. There were other methods of checking the use and the abuse of the liquor traffic than perpetually quarreling with the great state officials, because they were not prepared to use the severest form of coercion, which at best would have proved but a temporary remedy, and would certainly have injured trade. Still it was not entirely on this account that the Bishop was unrelenting. Moneymaking and money-getting were abhorrent in his eyes, and the moneymakers were entitled to no mercy. Hence the injury to the trade of the company was not worthy of consideration. And, to be consistent, if love of pelf in others were wicked, love of pelf in his clergy was still more so; and therefore he was willing to concede a point in the matter of tithes, while remaining obstinate in opposing every infringement of his official prerogative and every practice which would endanger the salvation of the Indians. The brandy traffic primarily affected the interests of the trading company and the local traders, but the tithes came out of the pockets of the poor *habitant*, and for him the Bishop, though an aristocrat, perhaps because an aristocrat, had much sympathy. He consequently modified his first proposal and fixed the tithes for the whole colony, as well as Quebec at one-twentieth, first for six years, and then for the term of his life. And, as in 1665 discontent was still rife, he consented that no tithes should be collected until the King's will could be known. The Royal decision was not expressed until 1667. Popular feeling rose high, especially in the neighborhood of Quebec, where the Bishop and his secular clergy were personally known. The tenants of the Seminary's own seigniory at Beaupré were so incensed that the curé, Mons. Morel, had to be recalled. The people were undoubtedly desperately poor. The surplus of produce over and above what was necessary to maintain life was small, and this surplus was the only commodity convertible into money or goods. That so much of it should go to the Church must have seemed

a hardship, the more so as the Jesuits were the largest property holders in New France, and the Bishop and his Seminary were absorbing a large part of what was left. The people of Canada were all, it is true, Catholics; but they had come only recently from Old France, where other forms of revolt against extreme ecclesiasticism than Calvinism were rife.

The last chapter of the story of the tithes is soon told. The Marquis de Tracy, at the suggestion of the Intendant, Talon, and with the approval of the Bishop, so far yielded to the discontent of the people as to reduce the tithes to one-twenty-sixth for twenty years. But the tithes were payable to the *curés* themselves in thrashed wheat, delivered free of charge, not to the Seminary; and to avoid frauds the *curé* could have the harvest estimated a fortnight before the harvest time, a proviso which indicated clearly the friction still existing between the Church and its children upon this burning question of finance. The council soon cancelled the condition which permitted the *curé* to assess the value of the crop, and moreover exempted all new lands for five years from the imposition of any tithes. The ordinance of Mons. de Tracy also severed the dependence of the *curé* on the Seminary, and this severance was made absolute by the decree of the King in 1679, when the tithe of one-twenty-sixth was made perpetual. Nevertheless, though the clergy became thus more intimately allied with their flocks, friction still continued. If the tithes fell heavily on the *habitant*, the reduction to one-twenty-sixth fell still more heavily on the *curé*. Frontenac in 1678 for once took the side of the Bishop in a conference held to devise ways and means for meeting the clerical budget. The best they could suggest was the proposition to pay each *curé* 500 francs a year, 200 to cover personal expenses and 300 for board in the family of a parishioner. The scheme failed, inasmuch as board and lodging could not be secured at less than 400 francs. So in the following year the subject was renewed in the Sovereign Council, and a circular issued calling on all interested in the subject to submit their views before the spring of 1680. Mons. Pierre Francheville presented a memorial from the clergy at the time specified, pointing out the anomalies of their position, and praying that a method of relief

should be devised, and funds provided for paying them a sufficiency of income when the tithes failed.*

A complicated system of determining the tithes was devised by the Council; and the King, under the advice of the Marquis de Seignelay, son of the great Colbert and his successor in office, agreed to supplement the revenue of the clergy, derived from the tithes, by payment to the Seminary of 8,000 francs annually, of which 2,000 francs was for the support of aged and infirm priests, and 1,200 for a church construction fund. The Seminary became the depository and dispenser of the fund, and remained so until Mons. de Saint Vallier insisted on assuming that function himself.

The clergy† made one more effort to secure the original toll of one-twelfth of the total produce of the soil, including flax, tobacco, fruits, vegetables, hay and grain, but their petition was refused; and by the ordinance of the 12th of July, 1707, the tithes were fixed at one-twenty-sixth of cereals alone, an arrangement

* Governor de Denonville came to the conclusion, with Abbé de Chevalières, that fifty-one parishes were required, and that the curés could not live on less than 400 francs, though he once thought 300 sufficient. Fifty-one multiplied by 400 equalled 20,400 francs, and as the tithes yielded only 6,196 francs, the King asks Mons. de Champigny, the Intendant, how he expects the balance to be provided.

†In 1705, two priests, M.M. Boulard and Dufournel, claimed that a copy of the ordinance of the 23rd of August, 1667, which they produced, gave the Church tithes, not only on grain, but on all cultivated products of the soil. They were called on to plead their cause before the Council, but the Sieur d'Auteuil, the *Procureur Général*, carried his point against them, and the Court decided that the ordinance by which tithes were to be paid only on grain was of later date, namely, dated September 4th, of the same year, though not even a copy of this later ordinance could be produced. None has since been found, but Judge Beaudry discovered among the judicial archives of Montreal the original ordinance of Aug. 23rd of which the two curés had a copy. The ordinance of Sept 4th could not have been signed by Tracy, as claimed, for, according to the Journal of the Jesuits, he had sailed for France on Aug. 28th. Nevertheless, though the decree may not have been signed by the Viceroy on Sept. 4th, it is inconceivable that the clergy would have submitted at that date to such a curtailment of their dues had such an ordinance not been passed. The subject is discussed in detail by Thomas Chapais in his "Life of Talon,"

that has subsisted from that day to this ; for, as under the Quebec Act, the French of the Province of Quebec retained their civil laws and their religion, the Church of to-day has the same power over its flock as it possessed before the Conquest. Its parish priests still collect their tithes of one-twenty-sixth by process of law, and the *arrêt* of July 12, 1707, is virtually in force at this hour.

That the opposition of bygone days to the compulsory payment of tithes, when heresy was virtually illegal, should have disappeared to-day, when exemption can be secured by any one claiming it on the ground of change of faith, affords a striking proof of the greater hold religion possesses when voluntarily adopted than when forcibly imposed.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Brandy War; Laval and Frontenac in Conflict.

As already stated, the brandy question, while it did not touch the interests of the farmer so sensibly as it did those of the trader, still affected not a few of the *habitants* in outlying settlements, who engaged in occasional mercantile transactions with the Indians. Brandy was found to be the cheapest article of exchange, and, when judiciously administered, a valuable aid to negotiation. The mercantile class, and the agent and members of the mercantile company, regarded freedom of sale of intoxicants to the Indians as the sole means of successful competition with their Dutch and English rivals, who, despite certain mild prohibitions, used whiskey, which the French called *rhon de bière*, because made from barley or other cereals, as the most attractive article of barter. Col. Dongan, Governor of New York under James II, in one of his letters to Governor de Denonville, bluntly expresses the views of the English colonists. "The British King," he says, "is as zealous to propagate the Faith as anyone." He had himself asked for a missionary to dissuade the savages from their drunken debaucheries, "though certainly our rum does as little harm as your brandy, and in the opinion of Christians is much more wholesome." He adds the remark that "to keep the Indians temperate and sober is a very good and Christian performance, but to prohibit them all strong liquors seems a little hard and very turkish."*

On the other hand the Church regarded strong drink as the most demoralizing and destructive agent to the life and well-being

*During the invasion of the Mohawk Country in 1692 by the French the chiefs of the Five Nations begged Governor Fletcher to prevent the sale of liquors to their braves "while the war is so hot."

of the aborigines ever introduced by Europeans, and it fought against its sale or administration to the Indians under any plea, with all the weapons, spiritual and temporal, which its arsenal contained. The arguments used by the Church were, from a moral point of view, unanswerable, and have been concurred in by the governments both of Canada and of the United States, the laws of both countries providing heavy penalties for all venders of whisky to the red men. Nevertheless, the benevolent and humane efforts of the Church to stem the tide of drunkenness aroused bitter opposition on the part not only of the Governors but of the people of New France. Self-interest accounts for that opposition no doubt in part, yet there is good reason to believe that, had the officers of the Church confined themselves to argument and moral suasion, instead of proceeding, as they did, to violent denunciation, excommunications and political intrigues, they would have effected more good and excited less anger.

An interesting document (supposed by the Abbé Faillon to be from the pen of the Abbé Belmont, author of the earliest history of Canada) has been published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, being the history of brandy from the Church's point of view, and consequently revealing not a few divine secrets confided by Providence to the clergy alone. From it we gather that it was because La Chine was one of the most intemperate of the Indian villages, that its inhabitants were handed over to the vengeance of the Iroquois, who were used by God as the ministers of His justice. The same place we are told was further punished by the destruction of its crops, for having entertained eighty canoe loads of visiting Indians at a famous drinking bout; "that evening," so the narrative reads, "the wheat crop was the finest in the world; the morning after the horrible revel it was rusted and withered as by a fog."

The connection between the debauch and the blight is not apparent, nor were signs and wonders needed to prove that the traffic was nefarious. The crimes committed by the infuriated savages; the rapid disappearance of whole tribes under the ravages of whiskey and debauchery; the demoralizing effect on the white traders of being allowed, first to intoxicate and then to swindle

their dusky victims, made up a catalogue of evils, resulting from the brandy traffic black enough and long enough to appall the most callous, without the addition of any heaven-sent calamities.

Churchmen, however, even in the 17th century did not altogether overlook utilitarian arguments. The brandy question having been laid in the first place before the theologians of the University of Toulouse, the traffic was pronounced to be not illicit in itself, but legitimate or illegitimate, according as it might be carried on. And the reasons given by the traders in favor of the selling of spirits to the Indians were considered by the theological faculty as conclusive. They were: First, that the sale of brandy attracted the Indians to the French, and therefore brought them under the humanizing and refining influences of that nation. Secondly, that, when temperately used, brandy enabled them to resist the great cold to which they were exposed. Thirdly, that it withdrew them from intercourse with the Dutch and the English, and so protected them from heresy. The Sorbonne, on the other hand, twice pronounced on the subject, declaring it a mortal sin to encourage drunkenness among the Indians, or to sell liquor wholesale to the taverns where it was retailed to the Indians. In presence of these contradictory rulings from equally high authorities Frontenac felt justified in authorizing the traffic, and the Bishop, no less justified in anathematizing all who engaged in it. In the words of the chronicler: "The quarrel reached such a pass as to divide the Church and the world, the temporal and the spiritual powers, the rulers of the Church and the rulers of the State. The controversy was waged with an animosity which deeply grieved all moderate men, the more so as each side was able to array a host of maxims, reasons and precedents in support of its case."

The Hurons and the few Algonquins in and near Quebec being under strict ecclesiastical control, were more or less safeguarded from the evil, which was seen at its worst at the annual fur fairs at Montreal, when hundreds of Indians came down from the upper lakes with the *coureurs de bois* and white traders, all of whom, as well as the local traders, were, from good fellowship as well as self-interest quite ready to indulge in drinking them-

selves, and to encourage the habit among the Indians. From Montreal the revelry spread to La Chine, to the Bourg of St. Louis, and to the Indian settlements of the neighborhood, where treating on a large scale was practiced. But though Quebec saw least of, and profited most from, the actual drinking, it was acutely perturbed—being the headquarters of the court and religious community—by the endless controversy which had divided public opinion ever since the restoration of French rule. Champlain had taken the side of the traders. The Bishop and d'Argenson fought over the question, which raged fiercely well into the next century. Till the Company of the 100 Associates was dissolved in 1663 the Governor's chief function was to protect its interests, which made it difficult for him to be a disinterested or an independent ruler; but Courcelle, Frontenac, and their successors were at liberty to consult the commercial interests of the colony at large, and their judgment may therefore fairly be regarded as impartial.

D'Argenson complained that the Vicar Apostolic hurled his excommunications against people who were acting in conformity with regulations approved by the civil authorities. D'Avaugour at first co-operated with Laval in his efforts to suppress the liquor traffic among the Indians, but afterwards, exasperated by the interference of the Jesuits and the Bishop in matters of State, took advantage, as we have seen, of the inconsistency of the Jesuits, in pleading for a woman guilty of an infraction of the liquor law, to cancel his previous prohibition. He also quarreled with Maisonneuve, denying his right as Governor of Montreal to make prohibitive regulations in Villemarie opposed to his own general ordinance as Governor of the whole of New France. During the unhappy rule of his successor, De Mézy, the same confusion prevailed, the authority of the Governor General being arrayed against that of the priests of St. Sulpice, who, as *seigneurs* of Montreal, were its actual rulers, the local Governor at the time we speak of, and till some years later, being their nominee.

Laval left his diocese in 1662 to plead his cause and secure the dismissal of the obnoxious d'Avaugour. During his absence the excommunications continued to be promulgated, to the disorganization of all good government, against men who were in

no sense violating the law. That the Church was right in opposing the abuses connected with the liquor trade few could deny; that its methods were wise and patriotic only partisans will contend; but matters were rapidly approaching the point where the conflicting views of statesmen and priests could not fail to cause serious social disturbance. The growth of commerce consequent upon the cancellation of the exclusive rights of the old Company of One Hundred Associates, the influence of the correspondence of the military and civil officers on the French court, and the increasing public irritation against the intolerant attitude of the Church, all had their effect on Talon, who, in 1668, just before retiring from office for the first time, suspended the existing provisions against the sale of liquor to the Indians. The Council confirmed the Intendant's action, giving as a reason that it was the King's desire that the French and the savages should live in closer intercourse, and that brandy was the best pledge of friendship. No prohibitory edicts could be enforced. It must be borne in mind that the *coureurs de bois* practically refused to obey either priest or King, and that there was no police and no court in the depth of the forest either to collect evidence against, or to convict, those independent rovers. Moreover, the prohibitive ordinances merely encouraged smuggling and illicit trade, crimes both of which could be practiced almost with impunity in a wilderness like Canada, with thousands of miles of open frontier and keen Yankee traders on the other side of an ambiguous dividing line. The same conditions rendered inoperative all laws forbidding brandy to be taken into the woods, after it had been made illegal to sell it to the Indians in the settlements. Laval, as member of the Council, had been present at the meeting in which it was ridiculously pretended that brandy was to bind the colony to the Indians in an alliance of perpetual amity and good will; but he refused to sign the edict, and continued to excommunicate and punish with all the pains and penalties of the Church those who disobeyed his orders.

Talon left finally for France in November, 1672, two months after the arrival of Frontenac; and until Duchesneau came to the country, nearly three years later, on the 16th of September,

1675, Frontenac filled the functions of Governor and commander-in-chief of the army, as well as those of Intendant. During these three years, therefore, he governed with fewer trammels than any of his predecessors or successors. The absence of the Bishop from the country removed the only check which might have been placed upon his arbitrary temper. He was thus for a time left free in the fullest sense, and he ruled with a high hand; imprisoning priests in spite of the capitularies and canon law; seizing and incarcerating the local Governor of Montreal; packing the sovereign council with his own appointees; refusing to allow the Bishop's Vicar General to occupy his seat in the Council; planning a campaign and collecting men and supplies on the most approved system of commandeering; caring as little for the Bishop's anathema as for public approval or disapproval; doing what he thought best for the general good and safety of the colony, without considering too carefully whether his action would be sanctioned by the Court and minister. What mattered that? He was doing what he deemed right, and the disapproval of his acts could only be received from France eight months afterwards. We may be thankful we are not victims of his arbitrary will; but looking back, the fierce and undaunted visage of the veteran warrior, and the austere form of his adversary, the Bishop, stand out as the most imposing and impressive figures among that group of seventeenth century heroes, who stood on the rock of Quebec, framed by the impenetrable forests, and washed by the mysterious and majestic river, whose source the black-robed priests were the first of their race to explore.

We may blame the governor for assuming powers with which he was not legally invested, and we may blame the Bishop for wielding unmercifully the terrible weapons the Church put into his hands; but who dare charge either with false or sordid motives? The insinuations made against Frontenac that he colluded with the *coureurs de bois*; that he shared in the profits of illicit traders; that he founded the fort of Frontenac simply as a trading post in the interest of himself and his partner, La Salle; that his violent measures against Perrot, the Governor of Montreal, grew out of jealousy of a commercial rival, who occupied a

commanding commercial position; that he approved of the sale of liquor to the Indians, not so much because it assisted trade at large, as because it advanced his own private interests; that he introduced the system of permits merely to prevent the priests investigating his nefarious trading operations; that his bitter dislike to the Church and all its clergy, except the Recollet friars, originated in selfish motives—all these aspersions find their only justification in the innuendos of that inveterate gossip, Saint Simon, and the charges of his bitter enemy and underhanded fellow-official Duchesneau. Saint Simon's accusation rests on the unproved allegation that Frontenac, who had left France poor, returned rich. Had that been true, and had he used his official position during the first administration to fill his purse, is it likely that, during his second term of rule, he would have continued to live in the tumble-down old Château, hardly protected from the weather, while the few thousand francs which he pleaded for from France were being tardily contributed for its reconstruction?

Considering that the brandy war raged during the whole of his administration, the wonder is that so few charges were made against him. The controversy assumed its acutest phase when the Bishop emphasized his protest against the traffic by making it a *cas réservé*, thus removing it from the sphere of all civil or legislative action and sent his most diplomatic priest, Father Dudouyt, to Paris, to plead his cause before the Court.

The Intendant Duchesneau recommended Dudouyt to Colbert; Frontenac, of course, did what he could in the opposite direction. On April 27th, 1677, Bishop Laval's delegate was granted an audience by the minister, who insisted that the clergy of Canada must confine themselves to their proper ecclesiastical functions, and not interfere with matters of state policy. The priest, of course, argued that a practice detrimental to man's body and ruinous to his soul, fell within their province; that it had been pronounced so by the highest ecclesiastical authorities; that it was held to be so by God's agent, the Bishop, who was responsible for the salvation of his flock; and that no prohibition or persecution could make him or his clergy swerve from their duty. They parted as they had met—the minister firm in his determina-

tion to support his subordinate, the Governor, the priest unmoved by the displeasure of the great man.

But though Frontenac in the wilds of Canada was willing to risk the displeasure and the censure of the Church, the minister, in his very different sphere of action, did not consider it politic to do so. That the Church was in earnest in the matter was evidenced by the fact that Colbert's confessor refused him absolution because he had decided with the Governor against the Bishop. In another interview with the priest the minister pointed out that, by making the sale of brandy to the Indians a *cas réservé*, and hurling excommunications right and left, for a practice accepted as legitimate in white communities, the Bishop was bringing the Church into discredit. Mons. Dudouyt saw that he could not carry his point and secure prohibition, especially as Talon was in France, and had the full confidence of the minister. Talon, in 1668, argued, as d'Argenson had done, when he persuaded the Council to pass his obnoxious edict, that it was unjust to make unequal laws. Mons. Dudouyt therefore shifted his ground, and pleaded for some measure which would minimize the evil, if not extirpate it. At the same time he wrote to the Bishop asking him to send over by the first ship a well-authenticated statement of facts regarding the liquor question, and begging him most earnestly in the meantime not to irritate Colbert by further excommunications. The Bishop followed the advice of his representative, and sent a statement, which, while it did not entirely convince the King, impressed him so deeply, that he instructed Frontenac in conjunction with the Council, to call together twenty of the oldest and most influential inhabitants, and ascertain their views on the vexed question. The committee met in October, 1678, and drafted a report on the 26th of that month, which was emphatically in favor of free trade in spirituous liquors. The members of the committee, though not wholly disinterested—seeing that, apart from the priests, nearly every prominent man in the country had some direct or indirect concern in the liquor trade—were all notable and honorable men, and their report, which was almost unanimous, if it did not fully prove the correctness of their decision, at least relieved Talon, Frontenac and others, who had taken

up a position opposed to the Jesuits and the Bishop, from the odium of having acted from purely private and interested motives.* The weight of public opinion was decidedly upon their side. The Council transmitted, by the hands of Mons. De Puort and Mons. De Peyras, the report with all the documents asked for by the King. The representatives who took the report to France were known to be hostile to the Bishop's views and pretensions and therefore, feeble and suffering though he was, the prelate took ship at once to plead in person the cause of his Indian flock, and expose what he persisted were the sordid motives of his opponents.

On his arrival in France he was persuaded by Mons. Dudouyt to abate his extreme demands, and in his interview with the King he merely asked that an edict should be issued prohibiting the carrying of liquors by white hunters or traders into the woods, as an article of barter with the Indians, and the selling of brandy to the Indians in their villages. The King was so impressed with the Bishop's description of the injury done both to red men and to white men by the traffic in brandy that he submitted the question to his confessor, Père La Chaise, and the Archbishop of Paris, who joined in recommending him to issue an edict in conformity with the Bishop's moderated proposal. This was done, and the Bishop professed himself satisfied.

He cannot be considered to have won a victory, and in point of fact the slight restrictions imposed on the liquor traffic were of little avail in arresting the evil. Shortly afterward, in 1682, both Frontenac and the Intendant Duchesneau were recalled; and the

*La Salle, in his evidence on the brandy question, as a member of the special council called to report upon the subject, says that the sale of beaver skins reaches 60,000 to 80,000, and that the savages who buy brandy number about 20,000, and that there is usually given for a skin one *chopine* of brandy; and if, therefore, every Indian drinks only his *chopine* of brandy per year, he is not much the worse, and the country secures one-quarter or one-third of all the beaver skins bought. The opinion of each of the delegates is given separately. All are in favor of the sale of brandy, but Joliet opposes its sale in the woods, and would restrict the sale to the settlements. Margry I, page 145. *Procès verbal de l'Assemblée tenue au château de Saint-Louis de Quebec les 10 octobre, 1678, et jours suivants, au sujet des boissons enivrantes que l'on traite aux Sauvages.*



Plan of Quebec made by Franquelin in 1683, to illustrate a scheme of harbor improvements.

brandy question was almost forgotten in the calamities which before long overtook the colony, and which popular opinion attributed so decidedly to the absence of their former vigorous Governor, that no other course seemed possible but to send him back to Canada in 1689.

Meanwhile the advance of age and his increasing infirmities had compelled Bishop Laval to lay down the burden of ecclesiastical and civil work, which he had by voluntary assumption made very heavy. It was now his turn to smart under a ruling which he did not venture to disobey, and at the author of which it would have been rash to attempt to hurl an excommunication. In 1687, after his retirement from the active exercise of his episcopal functions, and while waiting in Paris for the acceptance of his resignation by the King and the papal bull appointing his successor, serious divergence of opinion occurred between himself and the Bishop-elect, Saint Vallier, respecting the management of the Quebec seminary. It was drifting into bankruptcy, and the Bishop, aged and ill though he was, decided to return to Canada to adjust the affairs of this institution founded by himself and so very dear to his heart. He would then be willing to die in his adopted country, and be buried in the chapel of his own erection, where masses would perpetually be said for the repose of his soul by a succession of priests, for whose education, comfort and support provision had been made by his pious forethought, and who would naturally hold his memory in deep regard. To his dismay, he was forbidden by the King, through the Marquis de Seignelay, to return, on the plea that his presence in Canada would cause dissension. The old man wrote a dignified, though pleading, letter to the minister, but obeyed. Twenty-eight years of experience of active life and of the exigencies of statecraft may have taught him moderation, and raised a doubt in his mind as to the wisdom and righteousness on the part of fallible man of applying any principles so severely and uncompromisingly as he himself had been in the habit of doing.

The prohibition was removed as soon as his successor was consecrated, and on June 3rd, 1688, he landed for the last time at Quebec, to the infinite joy of the whole population; for, though

they may have opposed his interference in purely civil affairs, and deprecated the friction which it created, all recognized the sincerity of his devotion, not only to the infant church, but to the colony, and were especially hearty in their approval of his foundation of a seminary capable of providing an education for a secular clergy, drawn from the ranks of the people themselves.

After the Bishop and the Count had both gone to their rest there was still friction between Church and State, but the quarrels were reduced to bickerings. The never-settled question of precedence continued to give trouble. Whether Bishop Saint Vallier would admit the Governor, Vaudreuil, to the sanctuary, or permit him to dip his finger into the holy water, instead of being sprinkled like the common folk, or whether the Carignan-Salière Regiment was in its proper position in the Recollet Church in Montreal—these and similar subjects of dispute, however they may have agitated the minds of those immediately concerned, had little interest for the public. The country was growing, and matters of more importance were claiming attention. A noisy controversy raged as to the proper and rightful position of the captains of militia in the church processions, till a royal decree settled the order in which the various dignitaries were to be marshalled and to walk. Utterly trifling as these questions were, they had to be settled by the King, for under the rigid system of centralization, which Colbert had inaugurated, all these ignoble details were reported to, and passed upon by, the overworked monarch and his minister in the cabinet. Louis XIV. would have needed to be, as he actually regarded himself, an incarnation of deity, to be able to examine and decide such an infinitude of questions as were presented to him for settlement by his officials at home and abroad. Well might Michelet say, "He who grasps at too much can see nothing." Matters of importance are not recognized as such when the mind is distracted by trifles. If the same mind which shapes and directs the policy of the State has also to pass judgment upon the shortcomings of a nun or the promotion of a cannoneer, there is great danger that the larger interests will at times be sacrificed to the smaller. After the century closed the people of the colony were endowed with no greater control over their own

affairs than they had enjoyed before, and, if we except the Intendant Hocquart, no man of the stamp of Frontenac and Laval was sent to rule over them. With the disappearance of these two majestic figures from the drama of Canadian history, the interest of the plot languishes, and the story drags on towards a miserable ending.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Quebec as the Seat of Clerical and Lay Education.

Quebec may claim the credit of occupying a prominent place as one of the first seats of learning on the Continent. In the City of Mexico was built the first University, created by Royal Charter in 1551, but it was planned and erected on so sumptuous a scale that the century was closing before it was opened.

Harvard dates its birth from 1640, when the school developed into the College, by the aid of the Rev. John Harvard's gift of £1,700 and his library of 260 volumes, the object of which was "to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity," the testator "dreading to have an illiterate ministry to the Churches, when its present ministers shall lie in the dust."

It was twenty-seven years later before the older colony of Virginia, through the perseverance of the Rev. Dr. Blair, came to possess the William and Mary College; and sixty-one years after the foundation of Harvard, Yale was opened with the avowed purpose of making it a training school for ministers.

The first schoolmaster in Canada was the Recollet Brother Pacifique, who taught some little savages at Three Rivers as early as 1616; the second was Father Le Caron, of the same order, who two years afterward opened a school in Tadousac. The monks of Saint Francis, had their means been sufficient, might have established the Seminary at Quebec, which their general Syndic, M. Charles de Boües, recognized as an essential adjunct to missionary work; but, once the Jesuits entered the field, higher education was felt to be rightfully within their province. When the Jesuits returned to Canada without the Recollets, after the Restoration, Father Le Jeune promptly opened school with two scholars, and in 1635 the Society built a schoolhouse, in which they tried the co-education of white and red boys with very

indifferent success. At first the teaching was of an elementary character, but in twenty years the school had developed into a college, with a teaching staff which included professors of grammar, rhetoric, philosophy and the humanities. The Jesuit college, as a college, was virtually extinguished by the conquest of Canada in 1759, from which date the Lesser Seminary, organized by Bishop Laval, whose pupils had previously received instruction in the Jesuit College, became a teaching institution and preserved the continuity of college education. Education, in fact, occupied the energies of a large proportion of the inhabitants of the little town, nor were women overlooked.

The Census of 1681, after enumerating the Establishment of the Governor as twenty-one persons, that of the Intendant at ten and the military force at twenty-one, gives in detail the staff of the Seminary, the Jesuit College, the Recollet Monastery and the nunneries :

In the Seminary were

Monseigneur the Bishop, M. de Bernières, the	
Superior, 23 Priests.....	25
Boarders	20
Male servants.....	18
Wives and daughters of the servants.....	4
4 cows, 2 horses, 1 ass, at the farm of 60 arpents.	

The Household of the Jesuits consisted of

Priests	8
Brothers	7
* <i>Frères donnés</i> , or lay servants under vows.....	4

* *Frères Donnés* were laymen who pledged themselves to serve for life without other remuneration than their maintenance, in whatever class of labor might be imposed on them. The members of this lay order, as first organized to assist the missionaries, took a vow of service and wore a religious habit; and on the other hand the Society undertook to maintain them till death, without any reservation. The Jesuit authorities in Rome refused to sanction the formation of what was substantially a sub-order; but when Father Lalemant proposed to abolish the habit, and to relieve the Society from the obligation of perpetual maintenance, by claiming the right to discharge an unworthy servant, the General Vitelleschi permitted the institution of this class of lay helpers, who were most useful in the western mission stations.

Servants not under vows..... 10

The number of pupils is not given.

In the Recollet Monastery were

Monks 7

Frères donnés..... 3

Wife of Frère Donné Guibault.

4 oxen, 4 cows, 1 horse on the farm of 30 acres.

The Convent of the Hospitalières (The Hôtel Dieu Hospital) had on its staff of nurses:

Mothers 19

Sisters 9

As boarders were Madame d'Aillebout, the widow of the ex-governor, and her servant Edmé Chastel. The good lady had twice entered the Ursuline Convent—once during her husband's life, with his consent, and again after his death; but her resolution was not equal to her piety, and the seclusion of the nunnery taxed beyond power of endurance her active temperament, which found a more congenial sphere of duty in the Hospital.

In the service of the Hospital were:

Male servants..... 23

Female 1

and the live stock on their farm of 150 arpents, consisted of 30 horned cattle, 40 calves and 40 sheep.

The Ursuline Nunnery harbored:

Mothers 22

Sisters 7

French boarders..... 17

Indian boarders..... 10

On the farm of 200 acres were 4 male servants, 40 head of cattle, 3 horses and 13 sheep.

Thus, to minister to the spiritual wants and to the education of its male population, there were in Quebec 47 ordained priests and friars; 29 Ursuline nuns taught the girls, and there were 39 mothers and sisters in the Hospital. In the five religious houses there were 104 priests and nuns under solemn vows, and they employed in the service of their households and farms some 67 men and women. Of the population, therefore, of 1345 over

12 per cent was engaged directly or indirectly in religious, educational or hospital service.

The Ursuline nuns then as now taught day scholars as well as boarders, and their school at that date was the only agency for imparting female education. Though, as we have seen, they had on their roll ten little savages, the hope with which Madame de la Peltrie and her friend Mère Marie de l'Incarnation had founded the nunnery, that it would be a training school for Indian girls, whom they wished to fit for becoming the wives of French bachelors, was fading year by year. Experience showed that French husbands were more prone to follow their squaws into the forest than the squaws were to settle down into French housewives. Nevertheless Frontenac himself still cherished the belief that he could win the western tribes over to the French side by nobler motives than the mere desire of gain, and in his cortege from Fort Frontenac there were generally some Indian girls whom he was bringing to Quebec to be educated and civilized by the Ursulines.

The standard of female education was not high in those days. Mère Marie de l'Incarnation said in 1661: "Some pupils remain six or seven years, others in the short space of twelve months must be taught their prayers, reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the Church's doctrines and morals, in short, all that is most essential in the education of females." But if the girls were not crammed with learning, they were taught the exquisite graces of courtesy and reverence for holy things, which, grafted on their native vivacity, excited the admiration and respect of such gallants as La Hontan and such grave' savants as Kalm; and which became so deeply implanted in their natures that it is inherited by their sisters to-day.

It is sad to record that the good ladies had to bear more than their share of calamities. A second fire broke out while the nuns and their pupils were at mass on Sunday morning, Oct. 20, 1686. It destroyed the nunnery with its valuable records, and the chapel, sparing only Madame de la Peltrie's house. Misfortune, however, only stimulated their ardor and the interest of others in their work; for, on the reopening of the convent after the fire,

just half a century after the members of the order first landed in Canada, the community numbered 34 members, devoted exclusively to education in Quebec. Yet they were prepared for other tasks when called upon, for, as we read, the convent consented to spare some of their members to undertake the duty of nurses, in the nunnery established in 1697 in Three Rivers, where the population was too small to support both a school and a hospital. The Court at Versailles did not look with favor on this multiplication of conventual establishments, and the King, while not refusing permission to open the Convent at Three Rivers, declined to confer on it Letters Patent. In the same dispatch he commented with disapproval on Bishop Saint Vallier's plan of putting the General Hospital in charge of a separate community of the Hospitalières, and insisted that it should be subject to the Inspector of Hospitals.

While in Paris in 1663, or eight years after the opening of the Jesuit College in Quebec, and twenty-three years after President Dunster was inducted as principal of Harvard, Bishop Laval, took the step of creating by Letters Episcopal the Seminary of Quebec for the theological education of the clergy of Canada. The King confirmed this act, by letters patent, of date April 30, 1663, and the Bishop landed in Quebec in September of the same year, accompanied or preceded by M. M. de Maizeret, Pommier, Dudouyt, de Bernières, Lechevalier and Forest, who had been engaged to perform clerical functions and to conduct his contemplated seminary.

The intention of the founder was that the Seminary should be an establishment in which young clerics, "who might be judged fit for the service of God, should be educated and trained. And to that end they should be instructed in the manner of administering the sacraments and the methods of catechising and preaching apostolically; also should be taught moral theology, the ceremonies of the Church, the plain Gregorian Chant, and whatever other studies are necessary to fit them for fulfilling well the duties of the priesthood."

The Jesuit College was already giving the community advanced training in secular learning, and its course of preliminary studies

was adapted to those proposing to enter the Church and undertake pastoral work. Bishop Laval, when he founded the Greater Seminary, confined the instruction given by its professors to purely theological and ritual subjects, entrusting the instruction of his future clergy in secular subjects to the able hands of the Jesuits. Even after the Lesser Seminary was established, it was first used more as a boarding house than as a complete educational establishment. The Church draws a distinction between education and instruction. As an educator it exercises, in its educational establishments, constant supervision over its youth; it studies the idiosyncrasies of each of its younger members, endeavoring to repress all evil, and to foster and develop all virtuous tendencies. In its seminaries, and even in the Universities under its control, a much stricter watch is kept over the pupils, and much less latitude of action and study is allowed to them, than in Protestant schools and colleges. The Lesser Seminary of Quebec, which Bishop Laval opened in 1668, was in this sense, up to the date of the Conquest, more an educational than a teaching institution, confining itself to the religious and elementary training of its pupils, the regulation of their morals, and the direction of their natural tendencies. To the Jesuits, in their better equipped college, was entrusted instruction in secular subjects and the intellectual development of the seminarists. The Lesser Seminary (still *Le Petit Séminaire*) became also a training school for the priesthood, though it originated in a different manner.

The first impulse towards its establishment came from France, when Colbert communicated to the Bishop the King's earnest desire that the Christian Indians should be Frenchified, and his opinion that this could best be done by teaching Indian boys the French language and French manners. The most Christian King was liberal with his theories and his advice, but stingy when asked to pay for carrying them into practice. The Jesuits had essayed in vain to civilize and denationalize the Indians more than thirty years before, and they wisely declined to attempt the experiment again. Whether Bishop Laval believed or not in the possibility of success, the King had commanded, and like a loyal old noble he obeyed, and opened the *Petit Séminaire* on Oct. 9th, 1668,

with 8 French and 6 Huron pupils. The number of the former grew; that of the latter declined, till, in 1673, the last one was removed by his parents.

Subsequently, and till the Conquest, as already mentioned, the pupils of the Lesser Seminary received their instruction in the Jesuit College on the other side of the Market Place. But the former institution was the source whence the clergy of Lower Canada were selected, and such it remains to this day. Boys enter it young. They grow up under the closest ecclesiastical supervision. Their proclivities are closely studied, and if they exhibit the ability and disposition held to be desirable in a priest, they are from childhood consecrated to God, and enveloped in the atmosphere of the Church; they live, move and have their very being in the Seminary, which is to them the expression of the Church's fostering care. Though the priesthood has thus been drawn from its pupils, the Lesser Seminary of Quebec has none the less been the largest general elementary school in the Province; and from it, for a century and a half, all the professions have drawn into their special schools a succession of children thoroughly drilled in certain branches.

With the exception of the Seminary maintained by the Sulpicians in Montreal, the Jesuit College was, till the Conquest, practically the only seat of learning in Canada equipped to give a general education and train priests for their branch of the Church's work. Ferland gives the number of students at the Jesuit College in 1668 as 120, of whom 60 were boarders. Lahontan, in 1684, describes the College as so small that it could accommodate only 50 pupil-boarders at a time, and La Potherie tells us that 80 of the Jesuit pupils were lodged in the Seminary opposite. These were really youths who had been enrolled at the Bishop's Seminary, but who pursued their general studies at the College, where, according to Bishop Saint Vallier, they acquired as great aptitude and facility as the best educated youths in France.

The available information as to the course of study and the manner of life within the college is scanty. The latter has probably little changed in similar institutions of the Order, even to-day; the former we know has been greatly modified.

Father Rochemonteix, in his *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France*, has collected many data, which we have freely used.

Before Kirke's conquest René Rohault de Gamache, a devotee and afterwards a novice and a priest of the order, gave 16,000 fl. gold coin, and an annual rental of 3,000 livres to found and support a College in Quebec. Political complications, however, and the fall of Quebec prevented the realization of his wish.

Father Lalemant writes to the General Jean Paul Oliva: "The thoughts of the founder can be expressed in few words—to aid and to give spiritual instruction to the Canadians."

The instruction given was thus undoubtedly at first very elementary and exclusively religious, but in time Latin came to be added, for, as early as 1641, Mère Marie de l'Incarnation says that the nuns were learning to speak the native language, but that the children at the College were learning Latin. In 1651 P. Ragueneau reports to the Superior that, besides a teacher of reading and writing, there were in the College a professor of grammar, another of mathematics, and 16 scholars. By the year 1655, in addition to the masters of reading and writing, there were professors of philosophy, grammar, and of rhetoric and the humanities.

Elementary mathematics had always formed a subject of study, but M. Talon, the Intendant, regarding Canada as a nursery for the Marine of France, induced the Jesuits to open a class for instruction in higher mathematics and hydrography. They had among their number a layman (Frère-donné le Sieur de Saint Martin) fit for the task, who became the precursor of a line of eminent teachers of mathematics, astronomy and navigation—all Jesuit Fathers—provided by the King with apparatus and supported from the Royal Treasury. The P. Silvey was the first who held the post officially, and P. Charles Misaigner the last.

The curriculum was extended when Bishop Laval decided to educate a native clergy, and, lacking a professional staff of his own, requested the Jesuits to teach Theology. The professors of Philosophy undertook this additional duty, for M. de Beauharnais urges that, in consideration of the educational services of

the Jesuits, the State pay the salary of 300 livres to an additional professor of Philosophy. The recommendation was not agreed to. The King was willing to pay a professor of Navigation, but not of Philosophy, for, even in those days, there were advocates of a practical as opposed to a too exclusively theoretical training. Theology having by that time been added to the secular course of studies, the Jesuits continued to educate youths for the priesthood long after the Grand Séminaire was equipped. Their college maintained, besides, an elementary department, for P. de Lauzon, in announcing to the General the death in 1734 of Father Guesnier, the Professor of Philosophy and Theology, mentions that he also taught the catechism in the Junior school, which numbered over 100 children.

To this College, as we have said, the Seminary sent its pupils, down to the date of the Conquest. M. de Champigny, writing to the minister in 1699, says: "The Seminary boards 40 or 50 children, some of whom pay fees, while others are supported gratuitously. They are taught all branches, from the elementary to Theology, in the schools of the Jesuits, whither they are sent twice a day." The Jesuit College, when in full operation toward the close of the 17th and in the beginning of the 18th century, was, in fact, a miniature of the larger colleges of the order in Europe.

Rochemonteix says that, according to the correspondence of the Superior preserved in the general archives, the principal exercises apart from the lectures of the professors, were *les Répétitions, la Sabbatine, et les Menstruales*. The *Répétitions* were held daily. Every Saturday, and at the end of each month, the students engaged in a *viva voce* argument in the presence of a professor on a subject prescribed in advance. The advocate expounded the thesis and defended it; his opponent maintained the contradictory position. The argument was in Latin, and the debaters were rigorously confined in their argument to the syllogistic method. These weekly and monthly disputations were private, but before the end of the scholastic year there was a great public debate. The first of these public debates is referred to in the Journal of the Jesuits of the 2nd of July, 1666. The Governor and all the func-

tionaries of the State and Church were present. Louis Joliet, who afterward accompanied Père Marquette to the discovery of the Mississippi, and Pierre de Francheville were among the disputants; while Talon, the Intendant, joined in the debate *très bien*, according to the Journal, speaking, like the others, in Latin.

The great founder of the Order of Jesus, in the glow of his devout enthusiasm, reduced himself to poverty and supported himself during the long years of his literary education by charity. But he learned from experience, during this period of his life, that hunger and physical fatigue are enemies to study, and that the mind works best in a healthy, well-fed, properly-rested body. Consequently, though he decreed that the members of his order should take the most stringent vow of personal poverty, he encouraged the order, in its corporate capacity, to accumulate all the property it could for the support of its vast and widely extended missionary and educational enterprises. Its professors received no salaries, and its pupils paid no fees. Though in course of time it became the richest corporation in the world, the members of the order never degenerated, by reason of its wealth, into sloth and luxury, and its boarders—*convicti*—were well fed and well housed. The Canadian Fathers gladly submitted to extreme hardship and danger in their missionary journeyings, living year after year in absolute isolation from all intellectual converse and social refinement; and if, when they returned to Quebec, they found awaiting them the innocent luxury of a bed, their well-kept garden and grove, and a good dinner washed down with good wine, cooled, if it were not claret, with ice from their own ice house—Lahontan makes special mention of that useful addition to their establishment—he would be a captious critic who should begrudge them such well-earned comfort and refreshment.

The ruling motive of Loyola was to arrest the growth of heresy by bringing the Church into harmony with the progress of the age, and thus producing a counter-reformation within the Church itself. The agency by which he proposed to effect, and actually did effect, this momentous revolution was “higher education.” He conceived the idea, while yet an illiterate devotee

in the monastery of Montserrat, where he had hung up his Knight's sword, resolved to fight no longer under the orders of the King of Navarre, but under those of the Pope. Loyola was a man of the world, and saw that the venom of heresy injected into all classes by Luther, Calvin, and the Dutch, English and Scotch reformers, to say nothing of the hardly less pernicious spirit of scepticism and cynicism emanating from such scholars in the Church itself as Erasmus, far from being counteracted, would be inflamed by the noisy, vituperative abuse of the monks. He correctly judged that a body of priests must be reared up within the Church, who, while absolutely obedient to the See of Rome, could defend the Church's position by argument as well as by an example of pure and devout living. He foresaw too that the spread of liberal ideas in politics and religion could be checked among the youths of Europe, all aglow with the intellectual intoxication of the revival of the 15th and 16th centuries, only by supplying them with as sound an education, based on as profound learning, as the best of the existing schools, colleges, and universities could offer, but imparted by professors who had been drilled, throughout a long novitiate, both as teachers and as priests, to make intellectual education subservient to religion as taught by the Church of Rome.

To fit himself for formulating such a system he went through thirteen years of hard study, which began only when he was thirty-three years of age. The constitution of the order was framed by himself with the assistance of the famous group of his early disciples, but it was formally promulgated only after his death. The duties and functions of the Society are set forth as ten in number, the fourth being education. But though occupying only the fourth position, education stood really first among the means which the Society used to influence the world; for whether fighting heresy in Europe, or heathenism in Asia, or savagery in America, the one means which its members never neglected was the establishing of colleges and universities where sound learning was taught, and strict morality observed. Only two years had elapsed after the foundation of the order, which took place in 1540, before two colleges had been established,

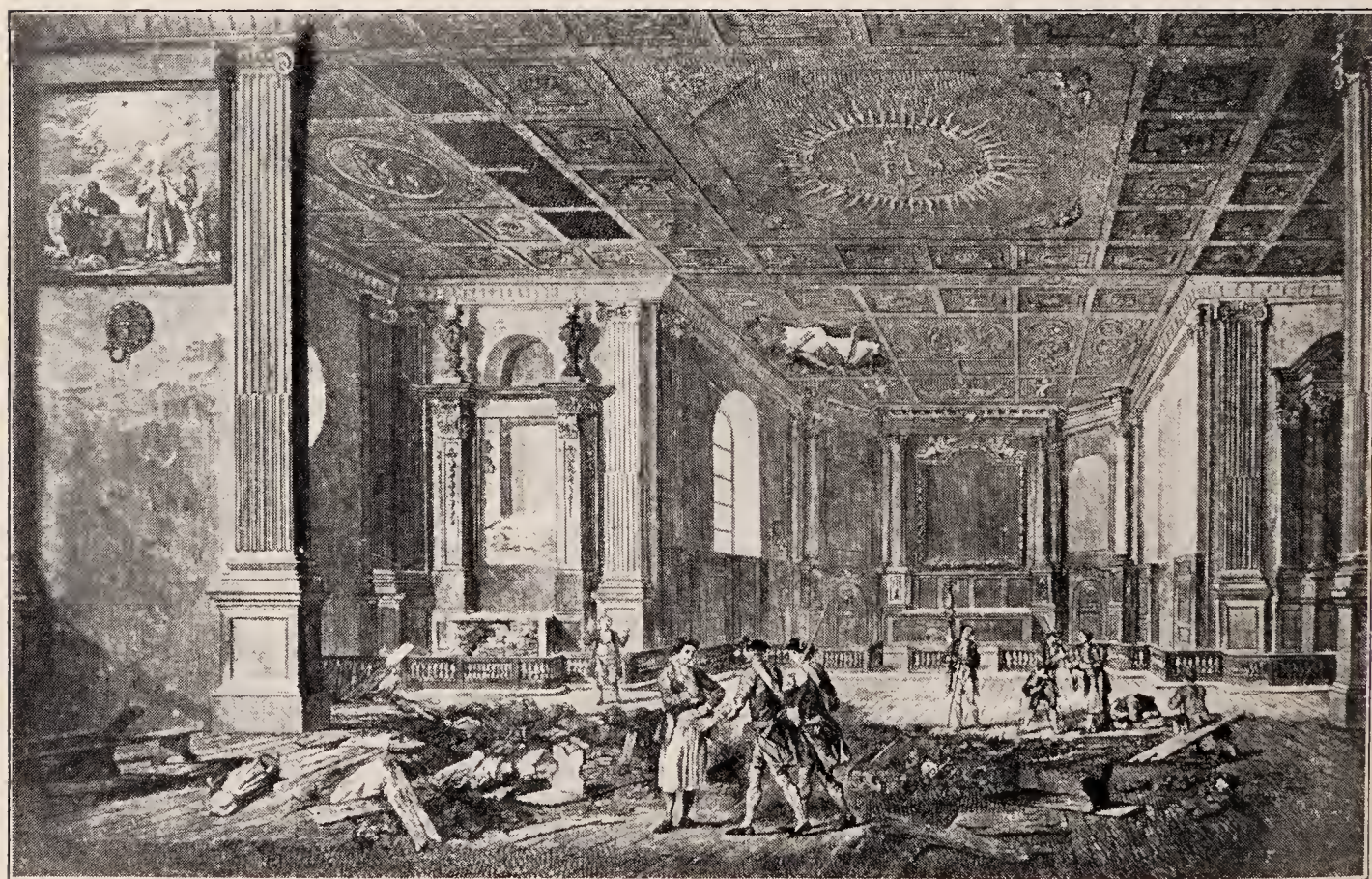
one in Portugal and the other at Goa, in Hindustan, the latter by that greatest of Oriental missionaries, Saint Francis Xavier. This college, which grew in time into a university, teaching all the branches of a liberal education in every language of the Orient, with a staff of 120 learned professors, all thoroughly trained and disciplined members of the order, became the parent of so many colleges in Japan, China and elsewhere in the East, that by the time the Jesuits entered on their missionary labors in North America, it seemed as though they were almost certain to win to Christianity the whole East, through the persuasive influence of profound learning, directed towards the exposition of Christian doctrine. In presenting the Christian religion for acceptance, the Jesuits, with judicious elasticity, adopted such of the practices and prejudices of the great masses of humanity, they were endeavoring to leaven, as they did not consider contradictory to the teachings of their divine Master. Unfortunately their concessions in certain directions were regarded as laxity, and they were compelled by Rome to adhere more rigidly to Western rules. Then commenced the decline of their Eastern missions.

What wonder that, under the stimulus of such magnificent success, the Society promised itself a similar harvest in America. But the human material afforded by the North American Indian was widely different from that on which they had worked in the Orient, as the Fathers discovered even before they had commenced to build their college, and while still endeavoring to collect a school of Indian children at Notre Dame des Anges. But if they could not convert the Indians through their schools, they could train the youths of the colony into good scholars and faithful Catholics, and therefore they lost no time in building a college. By that date the order had existed for a century and its system of education, drafted by Loyola himself and put into tentative practice for 40 years, had been formulated in the *Ratio Studiorum*, which has remained to our day the educational code of every Jesuit College throughout the world. So successful did the system prove that, before the close of the 17th century, there existed 769 colleges and universities, manned exclusively by Jesuit priests, and enrolling as students at least one-fourth of a million of the most

promising youths of the world. As primary education did not enter into the general scheme of the Society, children under twelve were not, in Europe, admitted to their schools unless exceptionally bright; while dull pupils of more mature age, if unable to maintain the desired pace, had to drop out of the race. The age limit, however, was not enforced in Canada. That the Jesuit College in Quebec was planned and built on such a scale—that it was larger than all the public buildings of Quebec combined—only expressed the enthusiastic faith of the order in its own high mission. Yet that College building was in the next century turned into a barrack, and a few years ago was demolished to give place to a City Hall, while the less ambitious Seminary has lived and prospered. Why? Paradoxical as it may seem, both the success and the failure of the Jesuit body are probably due to the splendid education of its members. That men so thoroughly trained intellectually should eschew politics was as impossible in politically-developed Europe as in barbarous America; and it has always been their interference in secular affairs that has brought them into conflict with the civil powers. On the other hand, the order has for four centuries educated more scions of the governing classes than any other teaching body, and so attractive have its professors, whether as men, friends or trainers, been to their pupils, that even such heretics as Voltaire have expressed only kindly recollections of the years of tuition spent in a Jesuit College. Moreover, their severe training has raised the Jesuits individually above the grossness into which the mendicant orders have too often fallen, while their learning and greater breadth of view have given their faith in the essential truths of Christianity a more rational basis than that possessed by some other ecclesiastical bodies, whose orthodoxy was merely the orthodoxy of catechism and tradition. A fair and well-balanced judgment of this remarkable body of men, and of the system under which they worked, is as essential to any just estimate of the forces which have shaped Canadian history, as is an unprejudiced view of puritanism to a true comprehension of the story of the United States. In certain respects one system was simply the antithesis of the other, and yet, as often happens with contradictories, they meet at many points in their practical outcome.



The Jesuit College and Church, from Smart's drawing, 1759.



Interior of the Jesuit Church after the Seige, 1759.

The last college building, opened for study less than twenty years before the Conquest, covered, with its court, more than an acre. Four stories rose from Fabrique Street, and two fronted on the large gardens and play grounds, which extended to Ann Street. In the early days there stretched across St. Stanislas Street, extending to the Esplanade Hill, a grove of forest trees which the old maps called "The Jesuit Woods." The Church jutted from the Northwest angle of the front, and faced the market place and the cathedral. It had formed part of the older college, its commencement dating back to 1666, and, prior to its completion, service was held in a chapel in the northwest corner of the old main building itself.

The original College, and the Church as originally built, must have possessed even less pretensions to architectural beauty than the ungainly structure only recently torn down. Lahontan, in 1684, was charmed with the College and its beautifully kept gardens and ice houses, but Charlevoix, himself a Jesuit, describes the College in 1720 in most derogatory terms in one of his letters to Madame la Duchesse de Lesdiguières. He tells her that "she has doubtless read in the *Relations* of the beauty of the buildings. This was comparatively true when the town was a confused group of Frenchmen's huts and Indian hovels. Then the College and Fort, being the only stone structures, cut some figure (*faisait quelque figure*), and by contrast struck the early traveler as being fine buildings; and succeeding travelers, as is their wont, simply repeated the glowing descriptions. But now that the Indian cabins have disappeared, and the French huts have been transformed into respectable stone houses, the college, which is falling into ruins, and whose courtyard is as filthy as a stable yard, actually disfigures the town. Moreover, when it was built, the river and harbor could be seen from its upper windows; but when the Cathedral and Seminary shut out the glorious view, the market place supplied a poor substitute in the way of scenery." The account of the Church, with its wooden floor, through whose open boards the wind whistled with icy blast in winter, is equally unpleasing. In a note, however, the author tells us that, in the interval between the date of his visit in 1720 and the publication

of his book in 1744, the college had been partially rebuilt, and had been made really beautiful, *fort beau*, of which complimentary statement the present generation, which has seen its walls razed, can judge for itself.

Despite the educational advantages which the College offered, it so declined that at the date of the Conquest there were only nine members of the order, including two missionaries, in Canada. The College and Church suffered seriously from the bombardment, but the Fathers returned to their restored quarters, reopened their classes in 1761 and carried on their work, when their brethren in Louisiana were banished in conformity with the decree of 1762, abolishing the order in France and the colonies. The British General refused to allow the members of the Jesuits in Canada to be replaced by novices; but the closing of the classical course in 1768 would seem to have been due, not so much to the reduced number of the teaching staff, as to decline in the number of students of the higher grades. This diminution may be accounted for by the emigration of so many of the wealthy class after the Conquest; but it was more probably due to the growing popularity of the Seminary, and the increasing suspicion of the covert influences of the educational system of the Jesuits, a suspicion which expressed itself in the almost universal suppression of the order before the century closed. But though the College classes were closed, the Jesuits taught a primary school within the College walls till 1776.

It is unreasonable to criticize their course of study by the canons of education of to-day. Quite independently of the fact that education was conducted by ecclesiastics to whom Latin was a sacred heritage, Latin was the only language of science, in an age when the intercourse between nations of different tongues was so slight, that it was a rare thing for a student to possess a knowledge of any modern language save his own.

The course of study was, therefore, exclusively classical till late in the century, as Father Brosnahan in his controversy with President Eliot admits. He allows that the twenty-five hours a week, constituting the class work of Jesuit scholars in the 17th Century, were practically devoted to the exclusive study of



A Madonna from the Church of the Jesuits in Quebec,
bought at the sale of the Jesuit effects in 1801.
By permission of Col. H. Neilson.

Latin and Greek. As a contrast, in the Georgetown University to-day, little more than half of the students' time is devoted to the classical languages. However useful, therefore, the training of the Jesuit College may have been in whetting the wits and tongues of its students for mastery in the rhetorical competition which was so important an element in their system, and which was practised in Quebec from the first, it was hardly well fitted for making engineers, or self-reliant colonists. The strict observance of rule; the profound reverence inculcated for authority; the minute introspection preached and practiced, into motives and courses of conduct; the close supervision, amounting to espionage, maintained over the pupils at all times, however calculated to restrain them from overt acts of immorality, must have diminished originality and weakened the power of initiative and of independent action in their scholars, and given them narrow and suspicious views of life, little conducive to effective co-operation with their comrades in the mighty task of winning the wilderness and holding it for France. This is true despite the fact that as individuals the French explorers outstripped all others, for where they failed was in combining their forces so as to hold the territories they discovered.

The points of difference between the Jesuit and the Seminary system of education were not great enough to make it easy to account for the decline of the one and the popularity of the other. The priests of the Seminary watched their pupils as sedulously as did the Jesuits; nevertheless, the peculiarly artificial training of the Jesuit Father must in some way have created a gap between his pupil and himself, such as did not exist between the healthy, manly son of the *habitant*, or the independent city lad, and the Seminary priest, who still recognized family ties and continued to be an active member of the body social.

A specific cause of Jesuit unpopularity was undoubtedly their wealth, despite the unselfish use to which it was in the main turned. As no revenue accrued from the Jesuit College, education being free, and as a large staff of missionaries was supported by the order, there was some reason for endowing it with considerable property. But the accumulation of real estate by the

order became early in the colony's history a subject of criticism. Their interest in the welfare of the Indian was unwarrantably coupled in the popular mind with an interest in the profits of the fur trade. Most of their large landed estate was acquired by gift from the Crown or the Trading Company in the 17th century, and consequently the lands confiscated on the death of the last member, Father Casot, in 1799, substantially represent the property owned by the order a century earlier. It consisted of twenty acres in the city of Quebec, and nine acres in the City of Montreal, including the land now occupied by the City Hall and the Court House. In addition the order owned under fiefs and seignoral sub-fiefs, and as real estate held in socage, 7 seignories in the District of Quebec; 2 seignories and three small parcels of land in the District of Three Rivers; and, in the District of Montreal, besides the property in the City, the seignory of La Prairie, making in all, as land held under seignorial tenure and otherwise, 953,820 arpents. The revenue from this very large block of land was inconsiderable. The tenants paid insignificant rents, and as the land in those early days seldom changed hands, the *lods et ventes* must have been small.

M. Rivard, the Superintendent of Jesuit Estates, reported the revenue from the small remainder of their property that had not been disposed of by the Government up to that time, as only \$6,555.49 between 1856-1857. But whatever the revenue derived at the period of which we are speaking, the holding by a single religious body of nearly one million acres of the choicest land in the Colony must have created in the public mind a measure of the same jealousy as was aroused in Old France against the Church, when it had become owner of about one-third of the national domain. In France the irritation, growing out of the exemption of Church property, and of the estates of the privileged classes, from taxation, at a time when taxes were pressing with dire severity on the body of the nation, was one of the main causes of the Revolution. In Canada, where direct taxes for the support of the State were never levied, discontent on that score was unknown; but even if the Jesuits did not share in the tithes collected from their tenants for the support of the secular

clergy, it must have seemed to the *habitants* unjust to pay any officers of the Church both rent and tithes on the same farm, even though the rent was in payment for land, and the tithes in support of the Church.

With a view to securing uniformity in the Church Laval ordained that the Cathedral Chapter should be selected from the priests of the Seminary, and that, subject to the will of himself and his successors, the Seminary should control both the appointment and the recall of the parish priests of the Diocese. In order to reduce the clergy to more absolute dependence, and to regulate their remuneration more equitably, the institution from which they received their education was made the administrator of the tithes, which the King permitted to be imposed for their support. The Bishop hoped thus to bind them to their *Alma Mater* by ties of self interest as well as of affection. In making himself and his successors the supreme depositaries of ecclesiastical patronage within the diocese, he imitated, he claimed, the example of the primitive Church, but he had a more recent and less ambiguous model in the Constitution of Ignatius Loyola. In this, as in all his episcopal conduct, he acted on the suggestion of the Propaganda, which replied to the inquiry of the nuncio, as to the influence the bestowal of the revenue of the Abbey of Mantes by the Bishop would have on the Church of Canada, that "though the Gallican Church may have certain privileges, there is no need to extend them to Canada."

But such as it was and is, the Seminary has endeared itself to every priestly student educated within its walls in a manner to which no parallel can be found in any Protestant institution of either secular or theological learning. Its power to remove the curé and its administration of the tithes became, it is true, the subject of bitter controversy in the days of Monseigneur Saint Vallier; but when these grievances were removed by relieving it of those special functions, it retained in all essential particulars the form given to it by its founder. The spirit he inspired into it has survived; and it has preserved certain university features which make it an almost unique model, well worthy of study by those who regard the associations and affiliations of college life,

and their survival in after years, as amongst the most desirable results of a college education.

Bishop Laval had received an indelible impression from M. de Bernières during his residence in the Hermitage of Caen, and he aimed at perpetuating in his Seminary some of the features of that peaceful retreat. His intentions as founder of the latter institution were expressed in the following regulations:

First—All priests must submit to the control of the Seminary under the direction of the Bishop.

Second—They must not regard themselves as owners of the allowances assigned them for their subsistence, and as a recognition of their dependence they must render an account year by year of their expenses. [These two rules were abrogated by Bishop Saint Vallier, when the curés became fixed parish priests, under the rule of the Bishop.]

Third—They must lead so blameless a life that none need ever be removed for misconduct.

Fourth—To sustain their spiritual power they must once a year go into retreat at the Seminary. During this absence from their charge the Seminary will find a substitute to fill their places.

Fifth—The Seminary will continue to regard them as children of the home, where they will be received and treated with kindness, whenever they come to Quebec ill or on business.

Sixth—The Seminary will provide for their wants in sickness and health, and make no distinction in the hospitality it offers, be the rank of the ecclesiastic who seeks it what it may.

Seventh—To encourage and console its priests when absent, a regular correspondence, couched in kindly terms, will be maintained with each of them.

Eighth—And when from age, hardship, or infirmity they are unfit for further work, they will find in the Seminary a home till death releases them, and afterwards their old friends, who are left behind, will pray for the repose of their souls.

What wonder that, with such a constitution, the Seminary of Quebec has remained the corner-stone of the Roman Catholic Church of Canada, and that its founder was considered by its pupils a Saint, well worthy of canonization.

And Bishop Laval himself lived up to his principles. A noble of France, he stripped himself of all he possessed, gave to the Seminary his personal property, the seignories which had been granted him, and the proceeds of the Abbey of Montigny, which had been conferred upon him by the King; and to the day of his death lived an austere but human life—either in the Seminary or at its industrial farm of St. Joachim, on the simple fare of the Seminary priest, taking more than his full share of the drudgery of ecclesiastical duties.

The priest still returns to the Seminary as to his home, and the provision to keep up systematic correspondence with the Bishop is maintained. In the Bishop's Palace there is a large library of bound volumes of Manuscript, consisting in great part of such letters, and containing invaluable records, bearing primarily on ecclesiastical affairs, but incidentally on the social and political history of New France during the past two centuries and a half.

The first Greater Seminary was built of wood on the site of the present Episcopal Palace, forming part of the sixteen acres of land bought from Guillemette Hébert, widow of the old settler Guillaume Couillard. Near by, within a few feet of the principal wing of the present Petit Séminaire, was a stone building belonging to Madame Couillard which the Bishop bought and altered for the accommodation of his Petit Séminaire.* This was occupied in 1678. This agrees with Villeneuve's plan of the city made in 1670, which shows two buildings, one apparently on the site of the present Presbytery. It was occupied by the Bishop and the priests of the Seminary, who were also members of the Cathedral Chapter, and by the parish priests of the city. The school and boarding quarters were somewhat apart in the north-east corner of the garden. In Franquelin's plan of 1683 both buildings had disappeared, for in 1679, before sailing for Europe, the Bishop laid the foundation stone of a substantial stone building for his Greater Seminary, to replace the wooden structure. This

*The Abbé Laverdière unearthed the foundations of M. Couillard's house in 1868.

safer and more commodious building joined the Petit Séminaire at right angles, and was opened for occupation on the Bishop's return in 1680.

The buildings for the accommodation of the Greater and the Lesser Seminaries were finally constructed on the plan exhibited by the buildings of to-day; and so substantially was the work done that some of the original walls still stand.

One of the fires which have been the scourge of Quebec broke out in the afternoon of November 15, 1701, when the pupils and most of the teachers were absent on a holiday at Sillery. The Cathedral was with difficulty saved from the flames, which in three hours reduced the Presbytery and the School to ruins. Bishop Laval was confined to bed by illness in his room in the Seminary, but was carried across the Market Place to the Jesuit College, where he and his clergy were hospitably entertained for a month till quarters were prepared for them in the unfinished Episcopal Palace, which Bishop Saint Vallier had commenced in 1693. Here he remained only till the seminary was rebuilt, as, notwithstanding his noble lineage and episcopal rank, he objected to living in a palace. Misfortune still pursued the Seminary. During the year following the fire of 1701 the Seminary had been rebuilt and enlarged to its present superficial dimensions, when it was again destroyed by fire. Again the aged Bishop accepted the kind invitation of the Jesuits, and resided with them for two months till a small room in the porter's lodge, which the fire had spared, was fitted up for him. There he lived in the grandeur of simplicity till death released him in 1708. The Porter's Lodge stood where the Chapel was subsequently built. The old chapel, in which it had been his desire that his remains should rest, had not been rebuilt when he died. But the site of the present chapel is more hallowed by being the scene of his death than it could have been had it merely protected his ashes.

The first disaster seemed to invigorate rather than depress the aged Bishop. Some of the Directors proposed to allow the funds to accumulate before rebuilding—not so the indomitable old man. Navigation had closed. But he at once dispatched M. Joncaire to France, by way of Boston, to carry the deplorable tidings to Mon-



The Parish Chapel and Cathedral of Quebec before the alteration
of the Façade in 1843.
From Bartlett's *Canadian Scenery*.



The Basilica — Entrance to the Seminary and part of the old Seminary Buildings.

seigneur de Saint Vallier. But neither his own pleading nor Monseigneur's sad tale could wring much money out of the empty pockets of the people, or induce the King to spare a gift of more than 4,000 francs a year till the Seminary should be rebuilt. The poor Canadians, spurred by the Bishop's courage and the example of self-denial set by himself and the Directors, contributed the balance, wherewith to rebuild the schools on an enlarged scale.

The Seminary possessed substantial resources from the first, but owed most of its available cash to the Bishop's liberality. The revenues of the Abbey of Maubec, conferred on him were turned over to the Seminary. He secured for it also the Isle aux Coudres, the beach and shores of the St. Lawrence and the St. Charles from the Sault au Matelot to the Hôtel Dieu; also the Seignory of Beaupré. His personal property was given on condition that—First, the Seminary support for three months of each year two missionaries among the Indians. [Of this condition the Institution was relieved by the donor in 1699.] Second, that the priests of the Seminary say a low mass daily for the repose of his soul, and those of the departed members of the Seminary of Foreign Missions. Third, that the seminary support and educate for the priesthood eight pupils to be chosen by the Directors.

The revenues derived from these seignories and French Abbeys would not, however, have sufficed to maintain the teaching staff, still less to erect the buildings, had not the Seminary controlled the tithes, and been the patrons and the bankers of the clergy of the diocese, whether engaged in education or in parochial work. As the population increased, the revenue from fees and board, moderate as the charges were for these, became a substantial source of income.*

*Till 1730 scholars were boarded, clothed and taught by the Seminary free of charge, but after 1730 the relatives were required to furnish clothes and books. At present the scale of charges is: In the Petit Séminaire, for board, lodging, tuition, \$111 per annum. Demi-pensionnaires, who dine in the Seminary, pay \$6 a month. In the Grand Séminaire the annual fee for board, lodging and tuition is \$120.

Moreover, in those early days the Parish of Quebec, as well as the

The need of a Catholic University was recognized by the Fathers of the First Provincial Council, held in 1851. Among the various seminaries which might claim the right of originating and conducting it, the choice could only lie between the Seminary of Quebec and that of St. Sulpice in Montreal, which opened its doors under the Abbé Queylus, manned by the able priests from the parent Seminary in Paris, some five or six years before Bishop Laval issued his ordinance for the establishment of the Quebec Seminary. The Seminary of Quebec was chosen, and it has right loyally fulfilled the trust, having out of its own funds expended in the erection and equipment of a university, which could be called by no other name than that of Laval, about \$300,000. And the standard it has maintained has been worthy of the name it bears.

The Château of St. Louis has disappeared; the old fortifications are crumbling; the guns on the Grand Battery have become useless; the Jesuit College, where highly trained teachers carried out a system of free tuition,* was first devoted to secular uses, then demolished; but the Seminary still stands, projecting the past into the present, and more vigorous and useful than ever. Within its old buildings priests, imbued with its old traditions, and true to its old constitutions, still teach. As a corporation it has kept

Cathedral Chapter, was supplied by, and at the cost of, the Seminary, in accordance with the Bishop's original plan. The arrangement survived, not without some misgivings by Bishop Laval's successor, till 1768. In that year the Seminary resigned its cure to the Bishop on account of the growing burden of the charge, both on its staff and on its resources.

Bishop Hamel, in his sketch of Laval University in "Canada—an Encyclopaedia," says, "The greatest income of the Seminary is a negative one, and consists in the fact that the thirty priests who are employed as professors in the University and in the College give all their time and their energy without remuneration. They are not paid. They have their board with heat and light, and are allowed \$10.00 per month for their clothing, mending and washing, and this is all. The Superior of the Seminary, who is *de jure* the principal of the University, receives no other salary."

*A feature of the Jesuit Colleges which has deservedly won them students, and entitled the Society to credit, is that the education provided both in school, college, and university has always been absolutely free.



Laval's Chair now in the Quebec Seminary.

aloof from politics and its course of study has expanded—so far as the limitations imposed by the Church's regulations would allow—with the growth of human knowledge and the requirements of modern society.

Whether a system of education framed by ecclesiastics and superintended by priests builds up boys into energetic, progressive, independent men may be questioned, but it must be admitted that it makes them gentlemanly. Bishop Saint Vallier himself was struck, as even the most casual observer is to-day, by the appropriate behavior of the little Seminarists, who serve as acolytes during mass. The exquisite grace with which they enter two by two, and after bowing to the altar, salute each other before taking their seats, is a charming exhibiton of what careful training can accomplish. The influence is felt throughout life of such acts and gestures of reverence and politeness, and these, repeated generation after generation, become hereditary and leave an indelible impression of refinement and gentle bearing on the race.

It must not, however, be supposed that complete satisfaction with the management of the Seminary and its funds has always reigned. Its wealth, however benevolently expended, created jealousy. There is a letter from a M. de la Marche, a nephew of M. Boucher of Three Rivers, to Count Pontchartrain, the French Colonial Minister, complaining of the cupidity of the Seminary, as shown by the wealth it had accumulated in lands and houses, and the miserable pittance doled out to the poor curés; also of the preference shown to its own infirm students when incapacitated for work—all of which charges were partially true, without being unanswerable.

While Bishop Laval was not so prescient as to depart from the standards and systems of primary and classical education prevalent in his day and long afterwards, he did recognize the need of a technical school, in which those who showed no aptitude for purely intellectual pursuits could learn a trade. The experiment of such a training grew out of his experience at the Seminary, where he soon found that there existed youths whose natural bent was toward any other occupation than the priesthood, and who would be more useful to society as farmers or mechanics. To

meet this want he established a branch of the Seminary under the towering cliff of Cap Tourmente, at the Grande Ferme de Saint Joachim, where an elementary literary education was given and some instruction in practical and theoretical agriculture and the manual trades.* Bishop Saint Vallier, with the laudable intention of enlarging the scope and usefulness of the Farm School, introduced into the course of study a classical element; but it was soon found to be foreign to the purposes of the Institution, as well as uncongenial to its pupils, and it was abandoned. When Bishop Laval's controversy with his successor was at its height, in 1691, not wishing to embarrass him by his presence in Quebec, he took up his abode at Saint Joachim, and the farm became so dear to him that in 1693 he founded six scholarships under the following conditions, which express clearly his intentions in establishing the school, and bespeak his good sound common sense: "The six children must be natives, of good habits and fit for work. Their choice is to rest with the Superior and Directors. They are to be fed, clad and trained to habits of politeness and piety, instructed in reading and writing, drilled to do honest work, and in the practice of the trade by which they expect to gain their livelihood, till they attain the age of 18, when they should be able to provide for themselves."

Eight years afterwards M. Soumande—a priest of the Seminary and Director of the Farm—created three more scholarships, and endowed the school with 8,000 francs, to be devoted to the salary of a master who should train the three youths as school teachers.

In addition, therefore, to founding a Seminary, which has grown into one of the great Continental Universities, the Bishop showed his appreciation of the value of technical education and training, by establishing, with the assistance of his able directors, the Grande Ferme des Maizerets. He doubtless approved the

*The Technical School at Saint Joachim has long been closed, but the Seminary farm is still cultivated. There Laval himself rested and gratified the love of nature which was so amiable a trait of his character; and thither to-day the priests of the Seminary go for rest and recreation.

action of Mons. Soumande, who in the year 1702 added a normal school to the technical department. Thus did this truly great man round off his storm-tossed, militant career. His later years—he lived till 1708—were not ruffled by any serious controversy with either the Governor or his episcopal successor, who was a prisoner in England or France from 1700 to 1713.

The second Bishop of Quebec was almost as picturesque a figure on the stage of Canada as his predecessor, but was far from possessing so creative a spirit. He from the first opposed Laval's plan of making the Seminary the trust company, as it were, of the parochial clergy. Thus after Laval's self-control had been tested in France, it was put to a much more severe trial in Canada, and that, not by a civil governor or a member of the State, but by his own successor in the Episcopal See, a man, endowed by virtue of his office, with the same spiritual prerogatives and authority which he himself had claimed to possess. When the new Bishop reversed Laval's whole church policy, by which the appointment and support of the secular clergy were vested in the Seminary, he did so in a manner as arbitrary as Frontenac himself could have adopted. Yet, although the subject was one of far more importance to both Church and State than most of the matters which in his earlier years he had deemed so vital, the retired Bishop now confined himself to expressing his opinions with vigor, but without anger. He did not conceal his poignant regret, but he refrained from imputing ignoble motives to those who were wounding him and his old colleagues to the quick; and when further opposition could only have embarrassed his successor and distressed the Church, he retired to his seminary farm at St. Joachim. The mellowing influence of age and mature judgment was never better exemplified than in thus tempering the impetuosity of a noble character.

When Saint Vallier first went to Canada as Laval's Grand Vicar he was fascinated, in the course of a tour which he at once made of his immense diocese, stretching from the ocean to the Lakes, by certain attractive phases of Canadian society; by the free, generous and genial character of the *voyageurs*; by the pure, simple and self-reliant habits of the *habitants*; by the open-handed

hospitality of all classes, and the genuine earnestness of the Seminary priests. "The people, generally speaking," so he wrote in his famous letter on the State of the Church, "are as devout as the clergy appear saintly. One remarks among them the same virtues as we admire in the primitive Christians—simplicity, devotion and charity." To one brought up as he had been in the artificial, stifling, not to say immoral, atmosphere of the Court, still young and with little knowledge of mankind at large, Canada seemed by contrast like paradise itself, and as such he described it.

But when he returned to Canada, one illusion after another was dispelled. He came into close touch with the city, though only a provincial one, and its sins; he recognized that the love of power was as strong in priest as in politician, and as likely to distort the judgment of the cleric as of the civil ruler. Then, like all men of vigor and passion, when they change their opinions, he went from one extreme to another. Instead of primitive purity, he now saw only sin and selfishness in priest and layman, while he described the country as being on the very verge of ruin.

Bishop Saint Vallier sailed for France in the Autumn of 1700, but on his return voyage was captured by the English, held a prisoner for some years, exchanged, but forbidden by the French King to return to his diocese till 1712. It was perhaps as well. He was as firmly persuaded of his infallibility as the great prelate, his predecessor. But Laval was consistent—Saint Vallier was not; and infallibility without consistency is not convincing or conducive to obedience. He therefore always had a batch of quarrels on his hands, and possessed a most unfortunate faculty for making enemies and for doing the right thing in the wrong way. The

*Though M. de Saint Vallier had been selected as his assistant by Bishop Laval himself on the recommendation of Père Louis de Valois, a Jesuit, and M. Tronson, superior of the College of St. Sulpice, his confirmation by the King was from motives of policy. He had been for years attached to the Court as almoner. He was a man of family and property, and therefore, according to the customs of the time, by rank and social position, eligible for a bishopric. His conduct had been exemplary; he was a man of abundant zeal, energy and honest intention, though, as afterward appeared, lacking in self-restraint and prudence.

breach between himself and the Seminary was never completely healed. He had alienated the attachment of the Grey Nuns of the Hôtel Dieu by establishing the General Hospital under the charge of the same order, but not as a branch of the parent institution. He had been in closest friendship with Frontenac, inasmuch as neither loved the Jesuits and both were at feud with Laval; and yet he quarrelled with him on so trifling a matter as a proposed performance of the comedy, "Tartuffe." Though the Intendant, Champigny, was a very faithful son of the Church, yet because he espoused the side of the Ladies of the Hôtel Dieu against the Bishop's pet scheme, the General Hospital, he incurred the severe displeasure of the prelate. He used the Recollets most dexterously for a time against Bishop Laval and the Jesuits, and rewarded them accordingly; then quarreled with them over a matter of precedence involving Governor Callières of Montreal, and closed their church at that place. With a perverseness beyond conception he alienated his friends; forged weapons for his enemies; and made his position so untenable that, as he would not resign his diocese, he was twice detained for years in France at the will of the King.

He was generous and yet often inconsistent. He gave liberally one moment, and withdrew the gift the next. He built a costly episcopal palace, and lived like a mendicant in his General Hospital. Taking everything into account, Canada owes him much. His General Hospital has been a boon to Quebec, and the parochial system of fixed curés, independent of the Seminary, has bestowed on the Church organization an elasticity which it would probably not have possessed under Bishop Laval's system, and has enlisted more warmly for his priests the sympathy of their parishioners.

Whatever his faults, his openhandedness and sympathy with the suffering and the indigent atoned for them in the eyes of enemies as well as of friends; for Frontenac, in almost the last sentence of his last dispatch, commended him to the Minister "for his charity in succoring the poor and his activity in every good work."

CHAPTER XXVII.

Quebec as It Appeared at the End of the Seventeenth Century.

With the close of the seventeenth century terminated the "heroic period" of Canadian history. Frontenac died in 1698; Bishop Laval lingered until 1708; La Salle had been murdered in 1687; and the formative period of French colonial rule was drawing to its close.

City life with its clerical and official elements and its segregation into classes was assuming a type not differing widely from that of to-day; and the shores of the St. Lawrence from Les Eboulements to Lachine were fringed by the homes of *habitants*, clustered around their churches. Though the colony was not a century old, the people had acquired a distinct national character. The educational effects of self-reliance, despite the weakening influence of their political institutions, had, in less than three generations, created in Canada a farming population very different from the tillers of the soil in Old France. Many of the colonists had been drawn from the seafarers of Brittany and Normandy, and when sailors turn farmers they carry some of the habits and mental characteristics acquired in their old calling into the practice of their new. Others had been soldiers of the Carignan-Salières Regiment, who in fighting all over Europe had gained a certain cosmopolitan character before reaching the St. Lawrence. Lahontan tells us that when he was garrisoned with his three companies on the Côte de Beaupré, in the year 1691, he was struck with the air, not only of comfort, but of independence which distinguished his hosts. He soon found that he must not call them peasants. They were "*habitants*," and resented the term peasant as vehemently as would a Spaniard. "Perhaps," he adds,



Plan of the Upper and Lower Towns of Quebec in 1670.

"because they were not compelled to recognize allegiance to the seigneur by the payment of *sel et taille*. Perhaps because they have the right of fishing and hunting. Be the explanation what it may, their free life puts them on the level of the nobles themselves."

Not only the gallant Captain Lahontan, and the sedate La Potherie, but the Swedish naturalist, Kalm, all agree in praising the delightful gaiety and intelligence of the Canadian women, the self-reliant demeanor of the men, and the courtesy among all classes, which even entitled the *habitant* and his wife to be addressed as *monsieur* and *madame*. The beauty and charm of manner of the Canadian girl has been the theme of every traveler since then. Even the Jesuit Father Charlevoix is rapturous on the subject, and not without reason attributes these qualities to the education the girls receive from the nuns, who, like the priests, drew a distinction between education in its wider sense and mere intellectual training. But the greater freedom of intercourse which boys and girls in Canada have always enjoyed, as compared with their kinsfolk in Old France, has also been a potent factor in developing certain national traits which two hundred years ago shocked Governor Denonville, who saw in them only symptoms of dangerous lawlessness and filial disrespect.

The river above Quebec was still considered as unnavigable for ocean ships, small as they were in those days. It was not until after Kirke's conquest that trading vessels ventured above Tadoussac, nor was it until the steam tug came to the assistance of the sailing vessel in 1809 that Quebec lost her prestige as practically the head of ocean navigation. Montreal did not become a port of entry until 1832, when 117 vessels, coasting and foreign, discharged 27,713 tons of cargo on her wharves.

Quebec itself was still a very small town. The religious census taken by Bishop Laval in 1681 assigns to it a population of 239 families and 1,354 souls, but it had grown to 1,988 souls before the census of 1698 was taken. In the whole government of Quebec there were only 1,460 houses, 37 churches and 26 mills. The Indian population on the five reservations consisted of 1,540, of whom 355 were in the Abenaki and Montagnais settlements of the

Chaudière, and 122 in the Huron village of Lorette. Being at the head of navigation, and no trade being lawful with the English colonies, it was the mercantile depot for the whole interior continent. Between the French and English colonies not only was trade forbidden, but travelling to the Hudson without a permit was punishable by death. New England would have been willing enough to open a highway that could be used either for war or for trade; but Canada's safety as well as her theological purity depended on isolation.* It was not until 1730 that there was even

*For the state of Canada and Quebec at the period now in question we have in the *Edits et Ordonnances* of the Sovereign Council a mass of official decrees and correspondence dealing with every imaginable subject, from minute regulations of the daily life of the people to important state affairs. But just as the gossipy Journal of the Jesuits gives us a more intimate and homely view of current events than the more studied narratives of the Relations, so we have a more lifelike portrayal of people as they were two hundred years ago in Lahontan's and La Potherie's books of travel than in the official records. Baron Lahontan was a sailor, though he had command of some companies of soldiers in La Barre's war with the Iroquois. He took somewhat free and liberal views of men, women and manners, and expressed them so frankly, that he was forced to publish his book in Belgium. He arrived in Quebec just as La Salle had reached there with his startling story of the Mississippi, and was hurrying on to report his great discoveries in France. Even though the great explorer may have kept his secret from the public, the guests of the Château must have known it. Lahontan's adventurous spirit was moved, but not sufficiently so to induce him to forego the good things of life, and exchange the charms of Canadian female society for those of the Illinois squaw. La Potherie was less of a gallant than Lahontan, and not nearly so good a story teller. He was with the fleet that Iberville commanded when he recovered Hudson Bay, after having performed his daring and successful exploits in Newfoundland. He also relates events in a series of letters, which, though not as fresh and amusing as Lahontan's, are probably somewhat truer to facts.

It was towards the close of the first half of the eighteenth century that Kalm, the Swedish naturalist, visited the St. Lawrence and made those minute and accurate observations of the country and people which have rendered the book he subsequently published a complete repertory of information on the subject. Canada changed so slowly that the next half century made no very noticeable difference in the aspect of the land or the character of its inhabitants.

a road between Quebec and Montreal. The rivalry between the two towns had existed from the earliest day. When in 1658 it was deemed advisable to send two of the Hôtel Dieu nuns from Quebec to Villemarie, the transfer had to be made secretly by reason of the opposition of the Montreal Company. Again, when it was proposed to appoint a successor to Bishop Laval, Montreal claimed the see in virtue of her more central position; failing that, she held that she was at least entitled to have a bishop of her own. Commercial rivalry aggravated ecclesiastical jealousy. When de Lauzon virtually confiscated the store of the Montreal Company in Quebec, and d'Avaugour confirmed the action, the process was begun which long continued to cause dissatisfaction in Montreal—that of compelling the western town to trade with the eastern, and so rendering the Montreal merchants contributory to the wholesale houses of Quebec.

The city itself has changed but little, for it possesses the advantage to the historian and antiquary over many another city that its leading topographical features are so prominent, that they must always determine its general plan. Mountain Hill, when it was a mere bridle path up a steep, rocky ridge, was what it is to-day—the only direct road from the beach to the summit of the cliff, or from the Lower to the Upper Town. The direction of the streets was determined by strongly marked natural elevations or depressions in the contour of the city site, except when deflected for the purpose of reaching or avoiding the large tracts given in the early days to the religious bodies or subsequently bought by them. *

Nevertheless some natural features have disappeared. The stream which De Gaspé in his “*Les Anciens Canadiens*” describes as running, even in his day, from Cape Diamond and rippling through the market place between the Cathedral and the Jesuit College, has been absorbed by the drainage system of the town. Not until 1853 did Quebec enjoy the advantage of a water system or efficient sewage, and some of us still recollect the water cart

*The city of Quebec contained, when the seignorial tenure act passed in 1854, ten original concessions subject to the charge of *lods et ventes* on each change of ownership.

drivers backing into the dirty water of the Cul de Sac, bucketing the turbid fluid into their barrels, and distributing it at 12½ cents (sevenpence halfpenny) per barrel into other barrels in the cellars of the upper town houses. No wonder that during the cholera epidemic of 1832 one-ninth of the whole population was swept away in a few weeks—some 3,000 souls out of a population of 27,000.

In 1637 twelve acres in the heart of the future city were ceded to the Jesuits, who at once commenced building their college thereon. Twelve more were deeded to the Duchess d'Aiguillon for the Grey Nuns, whose hospital was under way when they arrived in 1639. This tract lay to the north and east of the Jesuits' ground, and occupied the brink of the steep cliff overlooking the estuary of the St. Charles. The Hospital and garden now occupy part only of the original tract, as the nuns have laid out in streets and sold a large portion of the property, including their old graveyard, lying to the east of their enclosed ground. Another grant of twelve acres was made to the Ursuline Nuns. It lay close along the west line of the Jesuit property. On it they commenced building immediately on their arrival. At a later date they likewise sold, for residence purposes, portions of land lying on the outskirts of their grant. There is in their archives an interesting plan submitted to and approved by Frontenac, showing the plots they proposed laying out for secular purposes. The space occupied by Champlain's *Chapelle de la Recouvrance* was too small to accommodate the Presbytery, and therefore additional ground was acquired for it and the parish church, which was already erected when Bishop Laval arrived. The Bishop lost no time in securing for his Seminary a large tract, extending from the rear of the Cathedral to the cliffs overhanging the St. Lawrence and the mouth of the St. Charles. Durham and Dufferin Terraces were occupied by the Château of St. Louis and by a battery of small guns, which still stands, a monument of the past, to the west of Frontenac Hotel. The site of the Court House was even then devoted to law as administered by the *sénéchaussée*. It had been the meeting place, it is supposed, of the Sovereign Council prior to temporary occupation of Talon's



Quebec, showing the Cul de Sac, or old Port.—Aquatint by Lt.-Col. Colburne, in possession of Col. Neilson.



581-LITTLE CHAMPLAIN ST

Little Champlain Street.

brewery and pending the erection of the Intendant's palace. The adjacent ground, on a portion of which is now built the Episcopal Cathedral, was ceded to the Recollets, whose Church extended over part of the present Place d'Armes. Bishop Saint Vallier increased the area of ecclesiastical property by securing for his palace a site adjoining the Seminary Garden to the west, near the summit of Mountain Hill.

Thus of the total area of about eighty-three acres which the old Upper Town covered, a far larger area was occupied by the religious communities, and assigned to defence or other public purposes, than even to-day, when, excluding the esplanade and glacis of the Citadel, which were not then within the city limits, about 40 per cent. of the area of the city consists of ecclesiastical and public property. The Jesuit College reservation has ceased to be religious and become municipal property. The Recollet tract has changed hands, but most of it is still in the possession of a religious body. The Ursulines and the Hospitalières have slightly contracted their reservations, but it is significant of the stability and conservatism of the Church that it recognizes the power which resides in real estate, and can rarely be tempted to convert it even into money. The characteristics which pervaded old Quebec are still stamped on the modern town, and the spirit of the past is there expressed as nowhere else on the Continent by the same old walls, enclosing the same old gardens, colleges, nunneries and hospitals.*

* The census of 1716 enumerates the streets of the Upper Town, and indicates that the Upper Town consisted of a small group of houses clustered around the Market Place or the Place Notre Dame, and stretching out along the Grande Allée and St. John Street. The names are still familiar—Rue Saint Louis, Des Jardins, because it ran along the Jesuit Garden; Sainte Anne, which was then a short street corresponding only to that part of St. Ann Street, which now bounds the English Cathedral; Treasure Lane, not named, but described as a lane running from the Place d'Armes to the Cemetery near the Presbytery; Rue Buade, as it exists to-day; a nameless street corresponding to Rue St. Famille and Garneau; Rue Couillard, terminating at the Cemetery of the Hôtel Dieu; Rue des Pauvres, now Rue Fabrique; Rue Saint Jean, extension to the Fortification; St. Nicholas, Quartier du Palais; de la Montagne or Mountain Hill.

Thus while the formation of the promontory renders it impossible to cut a single level street within the confines of the town, these large concessions, and the necessity they imposed of conforming the streets to their outlines, brought it about that in no section of the town has it been possible to lay out the streets with a simple view to symmetry and convenience.

La Potherie drew a picture of Quebec at this period, with its straggling row of houses extending up the beach of the St. Charles, and in the other direction encircling the base of Cape Diamond, but clustered three and four deep at the foot of Mountain Hill around the old Company's stores, where recently the Church of Notre Dame de la Victoire had been built to commemorate the defeat of the naval expedition under Sir William Phipps. Here the mercantile community dwelt and transacted its business in substantial two-story houses and warehouses, rebuilt of stone after the destructive fire of 1682. A battery of guns is seen planted to the north of the Cul de Sac, extending out into the river. And three substantial wharves occupied what is still the busy portion of the river front. Lahontan complained that they were of wood, and of wood they are to this day. Houses lined both sides of Mountain Hill, as they did until the old "Gazette" office was removed in the middle of the last century. Above that point, in ascending, the grounds of the Bishop's palace occupied the space to the right which used to be the old cemetery. This spot on the flank of the hill was doubtless selected as the first burial ground because accessible to the dwellers both below and on the cliff, when the dead had to be carried to their last rest-

Notre Dame de Meulles and Champlain from the top of staircase to the base of Cape Diamond; Cul de Sac; Sous le Fort; Petite Rivière, from the General Hospital to the house of Dion; Rue Sault au Matelot, dark and narrow under the shadow of the cliff, existed then. Saint Peter Street had been reclaimed from the river, and is mentioned in a concession by Governor La Barre to the Jesuits; but St. Paul Street was not opened until 1816; though a few houses were built on the beach of the St. Charles.

Very interesting information about the fortifications and streets is given by Lemoine in a paper on these subjects published in 1875, in notes to Gosselin's *Monseigneur de Saint Vallier* and in Doughty's recent books on Quebec and its fortifications.



Picture of Quebec, from La Potherie.



Map of Quebec, published in Nurnberg in 1756.



Bishop's Palace, from Richard Short's drawing, 1759.



The Chapel of the Bishop's Palace, where the
First House of Assembly met in 1792.
From Bourne's *Picture of Quebec*.

ing place on men's shoulders. No fortifications or gates had yet been erected on the cliff facing the river front to the north of the Château. This, as the traveller ascended the hill, towered to the left.

To the right, overlooking the river, was the Episcopal Palace, built by Bishop Saint Vallier on three acres of ground bought, together with a good two-storied stone house, from Mons. Provost in 1688. The house was incorporated into the palace. The architectural decoration and the dimensions of the palace bespeak not only a more ambitious taste on the part of Bishop Saint Vallier, as compared with his predecessor Laval, but the transition of the colony from that primitive stage in which self-defence and the supply of life's necessities absorbed every faculty, to that later one in which it becomes possible to devote some thought to the elevation and adornment of existence. Although the palace was not completed in accordance with the original plan, it yet presented, as seen from the river, an imposing two-storied elevation, which to the eye gained additional height, by appearing to rise from the precipitous cliff.*

The yard of the palace was entered beneath a handsome gateway from Mountain Street, and the façade represented the only real piece of decorative architecture in Quebec. The wall of the Bishop's palace separated his garden from that of the Seminary. There was then no Grand Battery or Rampart Street, for the Seminary Garden extended to the brink of the cliff; and nearly, if not quite, the whole space now occupied by the Seminary, its garden, the Laval University and the streets intervening between the Seminary gardens and those of the Hotel Dieu, was divided between these two institutions. In the midst of its spacious grounds stood the Seminary, built of stone. Curving around in front of the

* As the copy of Robert Short's drawing shows, the Palace, owing to its exposed position, suffered lamentably during the siege of 1759, and, when repaired, its modest architectural adornments were not replaced, if we may judge from the picture of the Parliament House, into which it was finally converted. The cut copied from Bourne's *Quebec*, 1829, shows the chapel and a wing of the Palace in the foreground. In the background rises the Château of St. Louis, which had not then been destroyed by fire.

present Bishop's palace, which was built on property bought in 1843 by Bishop Turgeon, when the old palace was sold to the government for a Parliament building, the street then, or soon afterwards called Buade, after Frontenac, must have been entered. It led into the market place of Notre Dame, between the Presbytery, the cemetery to which Bishop Saint Vallier transferred the dead from the old burying ground on Mountain Hill, and the Cathedral to the right, and a block of houses to the left which was built when the Huron fort, that occupied the ground between Buade Street and the Place d'Armes, was abandoned on the removal of the Hurons to St. Foy. But the small block of ground between the Market Place and the present St. Ann Street seems to have been the most populous section of the Upper Town, for there was little room for houses between the Jesuit property and that of the Hôtel Dieu, or between the Jesuits' gardens and those of the Ursulines. St. John Street, the Rue d'Aiguillon, and the Côte d'Abraham were the highways to the Recollet Monastery of Notre Dame des Anges, subsequently the General Hospital of Saint Vallier, and these streets or roads were built upon from the earliest times. According to the census of 1681, twice as many families made their homes in the Lower Town as in the Upper.

The steeple of the Cathedral rose conspicuously above the town (the tower and façade of the basilica as they appear to-day were built during the last century), and those of the chapels of the Seminary, the Jesuit College, the Ursuline nunnery, the Hôtel Dieu and the Recollet Monastery pointed heavenwards over the one-storied houses standing among their gardens and such of the trees as had been spared from the forest primeval, which still covered much of the space now occupied by the Upper Town itself. A portion of the Ursuline Convent is the only old monastic building remaining substantially unchanged, for its last ordeal by fire occurred in 1686. The one-storied Hospital of the Grey Nuns, the Hôtel Dieu, as it existed in 1700, was completely destroyed by an incendiary fire in 1755. The Recollet Church stood facing on the Place d'Armes. It had been built under protest from Bishop Laval, was battered almost to pieces by the bombardment of 1759, and was finally burnt in 1796. De Gaspé, in



Intendant's Palace, as rebuilt after the fire of 1713.
From Smart's drawing, 1759.



Medal struck in commemoration of Admiral
Phipp's Defeat in 1792.

his Memoirs, gives a graphic account of his boyish recollection of the fire, which originated in Judge Monk's stables on Louis Street. The wind was high and the sparks endangered the Ursuline Convent. The monks were so busy helping the nuns that they neglected to protect their own property. Fire caught in the roof of their church. In face of the clearest evidence to the contrary, De Gaspé says, it was firmly believed by many that the British Government had set fire to the monastery in order to confiscate the land on which it stood.

The ground covered by the St. Louis suburb was in the country. The Meadows (*La Vacherie*), under the Cliff, reached by the Cote d'Abraham, were the common pasturage of the town folk, but they were gradually invaded by houses and converted into the suburb of St. Roch before the close of the next half century. The other road from the town to the St. Charles Valley still bears the name which was originally conferred upon it—Palace Hill, as it led down to the Intendant's Palace. The situation of this, the Parliament House of New France and the Residence of the Intendant, was probably determined by the convenience it offered of landing stores from the water; for the Intendant, besides being President of the Council, was the fiscal agent of the Colony, and the public warehouses and workshops, as well as the Treasury, were under his control. The buildings erected by Intendant de Meulles in 1684 were, according to *La Potherie*, 480 feet in length. They stood in about ten acres of ground, laid out as gardens, on the river front. The first palace fell a prey to fire in January, 1713, when Intendant Bégon and his wife with difficulty escaped the flames which overtook the rest of his household. It was rebuilt, but an evil fate seemed to pursue it. The government stores which were accommodated in buildings adjacent to the Palace were used by the last Intendant Bigot to rob the Government, and fill his pockets, at the sacrifice of the Colony. The whole group of buildings was battered into a ruin by the guns of the Palace Gate Battery, when Arnold's troop, which had occupied it as a barracks, were dislodged in 1775; and what remained was almost obliterated by the great fire of 1845. The original palace grounds had been reserved by the Imperial Government as a wood-yard, and the fuel, catch-

ing fire, continued to burn for weeks. Strange to say, all the masonry that remains of the historic structure must be sought for in Boswell's Brewery, on the site where Intendant Talon erected the first Canadian brewery, converted for a time into a meeting place for the Sovereign Council, while the palace designed by the Intendant de Meulles was building.

The most conspicuous as well as the most interesting building was the Château of St. Louis, separated from the Recollet Church by the Place d'Armes; for the citadel which to-day crowns Cape Diamond was not yet built, that prominent point being defended merely by an inconspicuous redoubt. The traveller's eye must then have turned irresistibly, as the thought of the historical student now does, to the Château and the Fort of St. Louis.

The Château of St. Louis, which overhung the Cliff at the close of the century, covered probably the site of the little wooden fort built by Champlain in 1620.* But the fort was hardly built before he recognized the need of a stronger and larger fortification, within which the whole population could take refuge in case of attack. He therefore built in 1624 a fort of greater size in a more extensive and better defended enclosure, using the material of the existing stockade and blockhouse. "Still," as he said, "he could build only of fascines, earth and wood, of which, nevertheless, he could make a good job, awaiting the day when more substantial structures of stone and mortar would be created." That day came when, in 1647, M. de Montmagny commenced a residence, a stone guard house, and a barracks. A memorial of his work remains to this day in a keystone, on which is chiselled a cross of the Order of St. John of Malta, of which he was a Commander, and the date, 1647. The stone was dug up in 1784, and now, after many vicissitudes, it is built into the outer wall of the Hotel Frontenac. Montmagny was succeeded by Governor d'Aillebout, who completed his predecessor's plans; and subsequently seven Governors lived and transacted the state affairs

*Some contend that the first fort was on the site of the old Bishop's Palace, as being more accessible. To it, in 1623, they claim he cut a road up the steep mountainside, following the present Mountain Street, which then was a mere forest trail, just cleared sufficiently to permit his dragging to his stockade some small culverins from his ships.

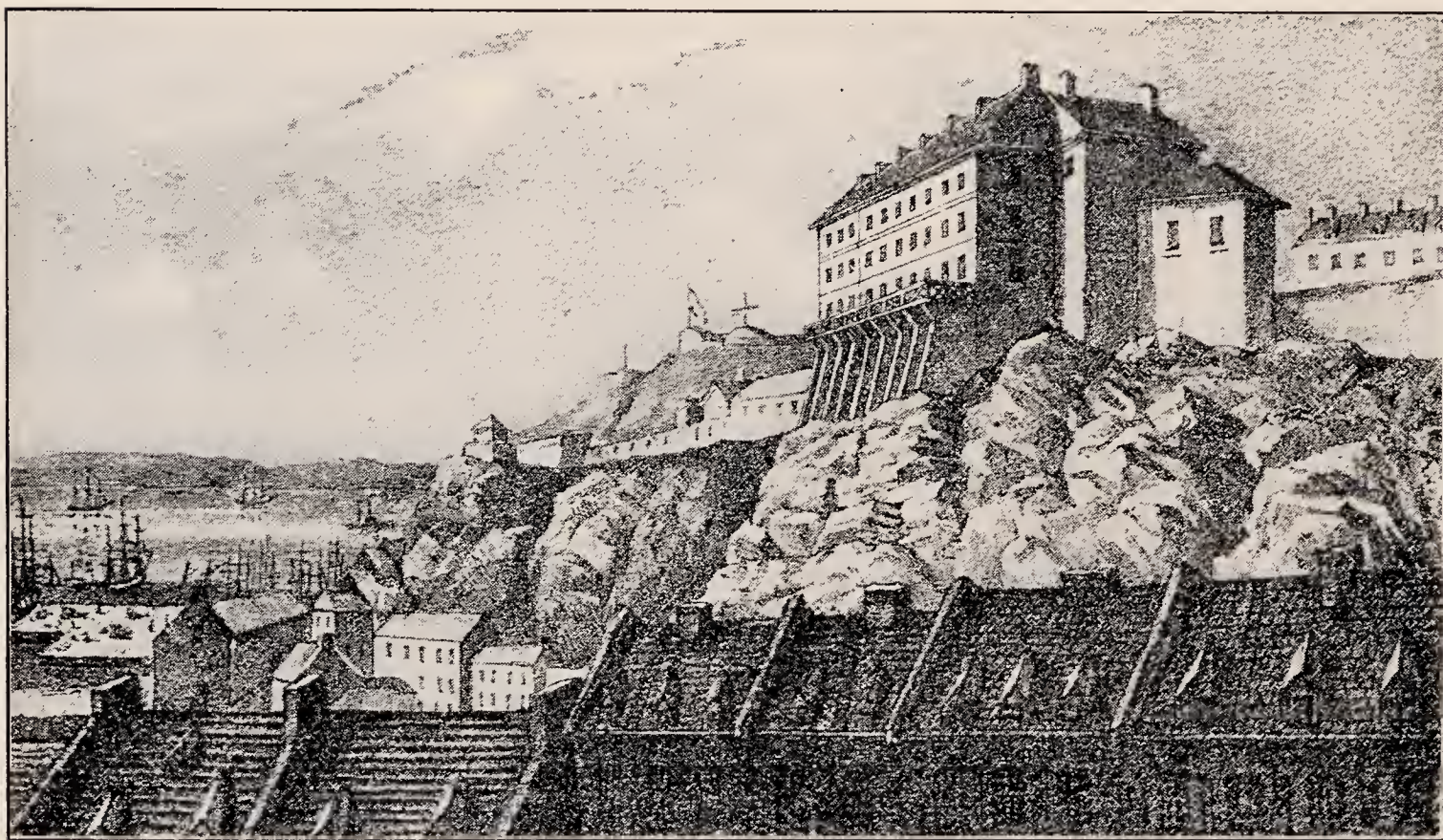


Cross of Malta, from Montmagny's Fort, now over the side entrance to the Chateau Frontenac.



CHATEAU ST. LOUIS, 1698.

Elevation of the Chateau as rebuilt by Frontenac and De Callieres.



Chateau as destroyed by fire in 1834.
From Hawkins' *Picture of Quebec*.

of all New France in this Château of St. Louis—no longer the Fort of St. Louis.

It was an unimposing one-storied stone building with a steep roof, built on a stone foundation, part of which still supports the northeast end of the Terrace. Its situation and the view from the river windows filled Frontenac with admiration; but the building itself was a most undignified abode for the Governor of a great colony; moreover its successive occupants, always hoping for something better, had allowed it to fall into a sad condition of disrepair, so that when the Count and his household occupied it, he found it to be hardly habitable. In 1681 he implored the home authorities to lay out "a little money in rebuilding at least the defences," for "the walls had tumbled down, there were no gates, and even the guard house was a heap of rubbish." Yet nothing was done till Frontenac returned to Canada for his second term.

Two incompetent men filled the interval between his two administrations; but one of them, the Marquis Denonville, had at least the courage to build, without authority from Versailles, a powder magazine just outside the yard of the Château. The powder had hitherto been stored in the Château itself. This small magazine, with its stone partitions and its conical stone roof, was afterwards enclosed by Frontenac within the walls of the Fort. It was subsequently built into the new Château, commenced by Governor Haldimand in 1783; was used by the Provincial Registrar for the storing of documents, and ultimately degraded into a kitchen for the Normal School, which was lodged in the Haldimand Château prior to the sale of that building a dozen years or so ago to the Frontenac Hotel Company. *

When Frontenac was sent back by the King in 1689, as the only man capable of coping with the Indian situation, he found the old Château even in worse plight than when he left it. A year or two later he felt himself entitled to adopt a resolute tone and insist on its reconstruction, for he had not only frightened the savages into submission, but had driven Phipps and his New Eng-

* For very full and interesting details see Ernest Gagnon's *Le Fort et le Château Saint Louis*.

land fleet out of the St. Lawrence, and saved Canada to France for another sixty-nine years.

It was three years after this heroic defence that the Court of Versailles was shamed into allowing the valiant old noble to build a new fort and a new Château, and only after, in a despatch dated September 15, 1692, he had said: "I shall be exceedingly fortunate if I am not buried under its ruins before the repairs are undertaken, as a high wind may at any time blow it down about my ears." He had transmitted plans of the fort and the city fortifications which he wished to build, and had also sent back to France the *Sieur de Villebon*, the engineer who had been commissioned to aid him, that he might lay his scheme before the great *Vauban*, and receive his suggestions. At last 12,000 francs were appropriated to the building of the Château, and this at a time when *Louis XIV.* was squandering the resources of France on the Palace and Park of Versailles. The great monarch would not live in the sumptuous Palace of St. Germain, with its glorious outlook over the Paris Basin, because he could not enjoy the view without seeing St. Denis and being reminded that, sooner or later, the Abbey there must be his last resting place. Though the Count did not live to see his plans completed, part of the new château was occupied by him, and he on the 28th of November, 1698, ended his active life in it at the age of seventy-eight. The Château was finished two years after *Frontenac's* death. It was then that *La Potherie* saw it, as a two-storied building of 150 feet, opening on a terrace, which overlooked the Lower Town and the Basin. The line of the elevation towards the river was broken by two shallow wings, and three pavilions projected from the front on to the palace yard. No money was wasted on architectural decoration, for the original appropriation had been insufficient to roof it in; and *M. de Callières*, *Frontenac's* successor, forwarded by the fall ship in 1699 a petition, begging most urgently for an additional sum of 6,000 francs wherewith to complete the structure.

A wing was built in 1723, and in 1808, the Château, which had again fallen into a state of dilapidation, was renovated and enlarged, at the expense of the Province of Lower Canada, and a third story was added. It then again became the resi-



An old Gun, defending the approach by Mountain Hill.

dence of the British Governor-General, and so remained till destroyed by fire one cold January day in 1834.

According to Le Clercq, whom Charlevoix closely follows, the fortifications at the time of Phipps' attack consisted of a double line of palisades, starting under the cliff at the spot known as the Sault au Matelot, where a battery of three guns was mounted. Thence it stretched along the beach of the St. Charles to the Palais. From the Palais the palisades ascended the abrupt precipice, and encircled the Upper Town to the base of Cape Diamond. The Sault au Matelot Battery was reinforced during the siege. Several batteries were mounted along the cliff overlooking the St. Lawrence, and one was posted near Denis' Mill on Mount Carmel. The small range and lack of precision of the guns of that day rendered it necessary to be as near the enemy as possible, as is evidenced by the planting of two batteries on wharves extending into the river to defend the landing at the Cul de Sac. These batteries consisted of three eighteen-pound guns each. There were no gates to the town, but the roads leading to it were obstructed by barricades of wood and sandbags. Mountain Hill, which was deemed the most vulnerable point, was protected by three such lines of defence. During the progress of the siege, when it was evident that a landing would not be attempted on the river front, a battery of three guns was erected at the gate leading from the St. Charles, probably near the present Palace Gate.

Doughty claims that Frontenac in 1692 built a wall which was continuous, following the summit of the cliff from the Château to Palace Hill. He further describes, from a copy of Frontenac's plans in his possession, a wall starting from the present Château Frontenac Hotel, running westward between Mont Carmel and St. Louis Streets, across Haldimand Hill and thence curving west into St. Louis Street on reaching the corner of St. Ursule Street; thence running northwestward inside the line of St. Ursule Street, and tending more and more in a northerly direction, through the intersection of Ste. Anne and St. Angèle Streets, to the lower end of St. Stanislas Street, and terminating at Palace Hill. The plan on the opposite page shows a *vieille enceinte*, which corresponds somewhat to these lines on the west of the city, but does

not show any fortifications to the north of the Château, or south or west of the Battery of the Château. Frontenac's fortifications of 1692-1693, though said to have been of stone, were rapidly built, and were probably not very enduring.

Frontenac made plans, and plenty of them, for extensive fortifications, but most of them remained on paper, though, according to Doughty, some were actually built. The permission to reconstruct the fort of St. Louis was cancelled in 1693; but fortunately the order arrived too late; Frontenac explaining that, having received news of further designs on Canada by the English, he had pressed the work with all speed, in accordance with previous permission, and had almost completed it when the order to expend nothing further on defenses was received. The government of France was galvanized, by fear, into taking more active measures of defense after Admiral Walker's abortive attempt to take Quebec in 1713. It was, nevertheless, only after the conquest of Canada, and not till 1823, that Quebec became, at the instigation of Wellington, the Gibraltar of America.

The earthworks or walls, laid down on the map of 1756, which we have reproduced, as ancient fortifications, evidently encroached on the present city limits, leaving the present Esplanade outside the walls, and intersecting the property of the Ursuline nuns. We are not surprised, therefore, to find that they sent a humble but firm protest to the Minister, M. de Pontchartrain, setting forth that the engineers had cut right through their yard and garden; that four acres of forest trees had been cut down; that four more acres were stripped to the very rock to supply earth for the fortifications; that, in addition, their pasture land was absorbed, their barn and stable demolished, and two houses, which yielded a rental of 16 francs each, destroyed. They complained that, to replace the property thus confiscated, they had been obliged to pay for land alone 1,200 francs, and yet they had received in compensation only 1,500 francs.

To reduce the cost of the fortifications the work was done by forced labor, to the great contentment of the King, but to the great dissatisfaction of the inhabitants. The construction of fortifications was in the hands of the military, and in 1706, M. de Louvigny, the



Ursuline Convent, showing the line of the Vielle Enceinte, shown in map
opposite page 496.



Recollet Church and Towers of Jesuit Church and Cathedral, taken from the Place d'Arms.
Reproduced from Smart's drawing, 1759.

commandant, reports that the *corvée* was fixed at five days' labor for a man and horse. Men without horses had to work ten days, if they supported themselves, or fifteen if they received rations. The religious communities were required to contribute their share of labor; and when the Recollets, on the plea of poverty, refused, the Commandant took the ground that, as they had been endowed with valuable property, as they sold beer, sailed two ships, and let out a horse for hire, they should also bear their share of the public burden. When every one was making money for himself, and civil servants and military officers had all turned traders, friars and Jesuits may be judged leniently if they helped out the revenues of their orders by a little buying and selling; which it would seem they did, if we may judge by the charges of illicit trading freely bandied about at home and hurled at one another across the sea. The only body of men whose hands were so clean that suspicion never touched them were the priests of the Seminary and the parochial clergy.

The garrison of Quebec, as we have seen, was small; but the city, though meagrely supplied with troops, was abundantly provided with civil officials. If Canada did not prosper, it was not for lack of bureaucratic organization in France and the colony. The colonial office in France became in course of time a veritable repository of accurate statistics, and a council for the discussion of colonial topics; but this was somewhat later than the date of our narrative. The Sovereign Council of Canada, with its seven members and its official staff, was the governing body, as well as the highest court of justice. It heard complaints even of the most trivial kind, made laws, registered the King's edicts, tried cases in appeal, and in general fulfilled functions very similar to those of the Parliament of Paris. The Council had on its creation appointed local judges who were enjoined to dispense justice without too much technicality (*sans chicane*) or lengthy procedure, but these were abolished in 1677, and replaced by an inferior court for the trial of civil and criminal cases, that of the *Prévôté royale*, presided over by the Lieutenant-General. The crown business was conducted by a Procureur du Roi and a Grand Prévôt—Provost Marshal. A recorder, two notaries and two bailiffs were attached

to the court, and the Grand Prévôt had two deputies and an archer or constable.* After 1677 the Maréchaussée, or Marshalsea Court for tracing and punishing vagabonds, was established. Six mounted police were its active officers. The Admiralty Court was not opened until 1717. Judges were but poorly paid, receiving only 400 livres salary, but they were relieved from the cost of wearing gowns and caps.

In addition to these legislators, there was a *Grand Maître des Eaux et Forêts*—the Master of Streams and Forests; an Intendant of Commerce and Marine, a Commissary of Marine, a Keeper of the Royal Treasury, a Comptroller of the Beaver Trade, the King's Clerk, a Commissioner General of Provisions, a Surveyor-General and other officials. As all of them were poorly paid, not a few considered themselves justified in supplementing their income by such means, fair or foul, as might offer.

Of all the officers sent out from France the Intendant had the best opportunity of enriching himself, though few—be it said to their credit—took advantage of their position. The first Intendant, Talon, has already been described as a man of unimpeachable honesty and of great administrative ability, who apprehended more clearly than any other nominee of the Government at Versailles the real needs of the colony. The man who last filled the office, Bigot, was a scoundrel and libertine in private life, and a robber of the state and people. Of the intervening occupants of the office,

*The position of a notary in Canada has always been, and is to-day, very different from that of the holder of a notarial commission in the United States. He is a member of a distinct learned profession, like the Writer to the Signet in Scotland. He draws deeds, marriage contracts, wills, and thus performs many of the offices of an attorney. He is the guardian of the original deeds which he draws, which must never pass out of his keeping, and which after his death are deposited in the Registrar's office, becoming thus official documents accessible to the public in all future time. The first notarial deed is said to have been drawn in Canada on August 11th, 1647, by Laurent Baurman. Long prior to that, however, Champlain had created the office of Greffier, or register, and appointed to it a certain Nicolas. The profession has always been numerous. In the census of 1681, besides the two official notaries attached to the court, five others seem to have found employment in the town, or one to something less than 300 inhabitants.

Jacques Duchesneau, Frontenac's enemy, fulfilled most efficiently one of the functions for which it was created, that of a spy and check on the Governor. The office in France was created by Richelieu, and the incumbent was to be the supervisor of internal taxes and of public works; but under Colbert he was endowed with, or at least came to assume control over, judicial and ecclesiastical affairs as well. The expansion of the Intendant's power in Old France was reflected in the greater importance and influence which these officers arrogated to themselves in New France, where they finally eclipsed the Governor himself. But while the Intendants were entrusted with high administrative functions, and were in some cases men of marked ability and framers of the most important measures passed by the Sovereign Council, it was none the less their duty to draw up ordinances for the most trifling regulations of city and country life.

As every ship had to be provided with a doctor, the medical profession was always well represented in the city. The city was supplied with an abundance of tradesmen. There seems to have been even a superfluity in some branches. There were, for example, no less than ten carpenters. Horses, however, were so few that there was no need of a saddler. Apparently the French housewives did not bake at home, as there were three bakers and two pastry cooks to three butchers; and poor as the citizens were, they would not wear home-made clothes, for there were nine tailors in the town. Priests and nuns were numerous, but all were more or less usefully employed.

The stirring events of the closing years of the seventeenth century, from the beginning of Frontenac's first administration to the end of his second, must have filled Quebec with exuberant excitement. Of the great men who have left their footprints over half the continent, a certain number were of European birth, but most of those who went forth, inspired by the newly awakened spirit of exploration which a dawning realization of the vastness of the new world had stimulated, were natives of the colony. It was to the progress of western exploration that Quebec owed in large measure its growth in commercial importance. Though the furs were not sold by the Indians or the *coureurs de bois* in Quebec

it was the seat of exchange, and the headquarters of all the principal mercantile houses. The policy of the Iroquois, to deflect the trade in peltries from the northern route via the Ottawa to the Hudson through their own territory, must therefore have been a matter of anxious interest to the merchants of Quebec; and naturally Courcelle's plan to intercept the furs of the Lakes at a fort built at the discharge of Lake Ontario would meet with their hearty approval. But when the scheme took shape under Frontenac, and an arrangement was made by him with La Salle, by which the latter was to enjoy certain exclusive trading privileges on condition of his rebuilding the fort and manning it, suspicion, bred of jealousy, was aroused in the mercantile community; and, in La Salle's absence, the fort was seized on behalf of his creditors. Finally Frontenac's successor, Denonville, failing to appreciate the strong strategical position which the fort occupied from a mercantile, as well as a military point of view, dismantled and abandoned it.

Poor La Salle! One can hardly follow his career without comparing it with that of more modern adventurers of the same type. Just as events in their relative importance cannot be properly gauged by contemporaries, so the character and achievements of men can be adequately appraised only when their life-histories have been told, and the totality of their work and influence comes distinctly into view. La Salle was to his contemporaries a more or less unscrupulous trader and political schemer. To subsequent generations he stands forth conspicuously among the great makers of America, as Rhodes will probably do among the builders of Africa. Each made great mistakes, each had great faults, but their mistakes and their defects of character become obscured in the blaze of great deeds accomplished, and the still greater achievement which the example of high purpose, masterfully fulfilled, stirs a later generation to attempt and consummate.

The country folk, or *habitants*, were poor. Few houses had glass windows, the substitute being paper. Every *habitant* had his little flower and kitchen garden, in which onions occupied a large space. Though the potato was in use in New England, it was still held in contempt both in Canada and in Old France. The

Canadian farmer was not then allowed to raise his own tobacco, lest he should interfere with the interests of France's West Indian Islands. This restriction was not removed till the administration of Intendant Hocquart. The country farmer at that period was so dependent on France for many of the staples of life that, when the ship "Seine," in 1704, with Bishop Saint Vallier on board, was captured by the English, the colony, while it could cheerfully resign itself to the detention of its Bishop, was almost driven to despair and famine by the loss of the ship's cargo. The laws against colonial manufacturing and colonial trade were only then being sufficiently relaxed to make it legal for the farmer to adopt that primitive mode of life, of which vestiges are still visible in the more remote parishes, where each family raises its own food, grows its own flax, weaves its own linen, shears its own sheep, converts the wool on domestic looms into coarse cloth, and in general provides for all its necessities without drawing on the outer world. Flax had been recently introduced, for it appears in 1707, in the Edict on Tithes, as one of the articles of cultivation from which the Church derived revenue. Dogs were more commonly used as draught animals than at present. They were harnessed to the sledges of the rich and to the sleighs of the poor, for horses were still rare. The few horses in use by the farmers were, like the horses in the Northwest to-day, so inured to cold that they were turned out in winter to provide for themselves until the snow became too deep; and when more than one horse was harnessed to a sleigh, they were driven tandem, as is still the case, owing to the narrowness of the snow roads; while oxen were bound to their loads, as they still are in some places, by the horns instead of by a yoke.

The conservatism of the Canadian is certainly one of his saving virtues. It is strikingly revealed in the persistence of trifling customs through two centuries. For instance, the *habitants* arriving overnight in the old days with their small stock of farm produce, camped on the river bank along the Cul de Sac, where they would light fires for culinary or other purposes, until the practice was forbidden by an ordinance of the Council, on the ground that it endangered the safety of the Lower Town. Till re-

cently, the small farmer from the distant parishes on the south shore never entered an inn, but slept by the roadside, and so timed his journey that he came during the last night within easy reach of the early market. To protect the city from fire, a chimney tax was imposed in 1707, and the size of chimneys was regulated. The tax was expended in providing leather buckets, which were to be always kept full of water, and were distributed, 24 at the Château, 20 at the Intendant's palace, 25 at the Jesuit College, 20 at the house of François Hazeur, the finest private house in town, on the Place Royale, facing the harbor and in view of the Church of Notre Dame de la Victoire, and lastly 20 at Aubert's house in the Rue Sault au Matelot, then the most populous street in Quebec.

The tax, it would seem, left a balance, which was expended on the repair of the stairway leading from the Lower to the Upper Town, and providing it with a gate wide enough only for foot passengers, thus shutting out beasts of burden, which had heretofore used this short cut to the detriment of the steps. A regular ferry between the city and Point Levis was not established until 1722, when a ten years' contract was given to Sieur Lanouillier for boats propelled by some kind of mechanism, *un moulin de bateau*. The old-fashioned horse-boats in which the paddle-wheels were turned by horses, by means of a rude mechanical contrivance, were used as ferry boats for nearly half a century after steam was employed as a motive power upon the river.

In the city the luxury of good living was freely indulged in. Kalm somewhat later tells of the excellent dinners of many courses that he enjoyed at the Jesuit College and the Ursuline Nunnery, washed down with an abundance of good claret. The appetite before breakfast was whetted by a glass of brandy, but light wines were the beverage most indulged in by men who could afford them: the women confined themselves to chocolate and coffee. Beer was the beverage of the poor, and one of Talon's enterprises, as we have seen, was a brewery in Quebec. The tables of the rich were well served, silver forks and spoons being laid beside each plate; but every diner was supposed to provide his own knife, a survival of the early habits of the hunter. The *bonnet—rouge* in Quebec and *bleu* in Montreal—was the

habitant's distinguishing article of dress, and still holds its place in Canada, while in France it has been relegated to the top of the liberty pole. Men servants were plentiful, but women servants so scarce that even wealthy housewives had often to do their own work.

Pierre Boucher, who was sent to France in 1662 to plead for reforms, wrote a little book for intending emigrants containing more correct information than we are apt to find in modern documents of the same kind; for while he admits that "good people may live in Canada very contentedly," he warns "bad people not to go, because they are too closely looked after." He gave the world the first information of petroleum when he tells of a "spring in the Iroquois country from which exudes a greasy water that is like oil, and that is used in many cases instead of oil." He gives the price of light wines at ten sous a quart, brandy and Spanish wines at thirty sous a quart, wheat at 100 sous a bushel of sixty pounds, though he says it sometimes rose to 120 sous. Wages in winter were twenty sous with food; in summer thirty sous with food. Clothes, he says, were about twice the price of the same article in France, and money so much dearer that fifteen sous in France would go as far as twenty sous in Canada.

But prices rose and fell even in a community where they were regulated by ordinances, for the records of the Council show that it could not always enforce its own tariff. On one plea and another merchants, charged with the offence of selling their goods at higher than tariff prices, escaped with light fines. Twenty-two livres was an insignificant penalty to impose on Jacques de la Mothe for selling his claret at 100 livres the *barrique**, when the tariff price was 60 livres; and his tobacco at 60 sous, when the tariff price was 40 sous. There were even corners in wheat, for in 1668 it was so scarce that 190 bushels brought down from Three Rivers were held at seven livres, or francs, the bushel, till the Jesuits, who had a stock on hand, broke the market by selling theirs at five francs.

*The *barrique* varied in the different provinces of France from 200 to 250 quarts.

Lahontan in 1685 puts the price of a *barrigue* of Bordeaux at from 40 to 60 livres, and brandy at 80 to 100 livres; but a glass of wine, sold over the bar, cost six sous of French money, and a drink of brandy 20 sous. Sugar cost from 20 to 30 sous a pound.*

The Sovereign Council not only regulated prices of merchandise and of beaver skins, but filled the functions of a municipal assembly. There are ordinances which laid down rules for the tavern-keeper, such as forbidding wine to be sold with meals except by permission; others prescribed the exact width of streets, such as that which requires Ste. Geneviève Street to be eighteen feet clear from fence to fence; others forbade firewood from being piled in the streets, or in vacant lots between the houses; and prohibited the use of shingles as a roofing material except on dormer windows. Tin soon became the favorite covering, as tin plate was then really tin plate, being coated with as much as five per cent. of the unoxydizable metal, and as wood smoke did not attack it the old roofs remained bright as silver till the second half of the last century, when coal came into partial use as domestic fuel.

The cost of living was high, if luxuries were indulged in; but money was rapidly made in trade by certain favored classes, and Quebec, being the center of trade, as well as of ecclesiastical and civil power, received its share of profits from many sources; while Montreal, being nearer the sources of wealth

*The copper currency of Canada consisted of deniers, worth 1/12th of a sou; double deniers, worth 1/6th of a sou, and the Sou, worth 1/20th of a livre, or a franc. The *écru* was worth 3 livres. A piece of money known as the quart d'écu, or 15 sous, or sols, was in circulation.

The sou differed in value, as did the livre of Paris and of Tours, but the cheaper sou was raised to the value of the standard by being stamped with *fleur de lis*, when it was known in Canada, and referred to in the ordinances as *pièces tapées*.

If, as Boucher says, 20 sous in France were worth only 15 sous in Canada, money was at a premium of 33 per cent. instead of 25 per cent. as he states; but he probably meant that a 15 sou piece would buy in France as much as 20 sous in Canada. See interesting Note on Currency of Canada in Chapais' "Jean Talon," Page 214.

—the fur-bearing regions of the Ottawa and the Lakes—was not left to starve.

There was no printing press in Canada to disseminate truth and falsehood, to preach morality, and to distribute scandal. The administration discouraged publicity and freedom of discussion, and the Church was at one with the State on that question; for though in 1665 the Jesuits had discussed the advisability of importing a printing press, it was in order to print exclusively *les langues*, presumably either Greek and Latin classics or books in the native languages.

This absence of the printing press coupled with a close censorship over imported literature, and the prohibition of all intercourse with the English Puritans, assisted the government and the Church in excluding heresy. Nevertheless a few heretics did find admission, some as soldiers, but more as clerks. Laval in 1670 memorializes Colbert strongly on the subject, pointing out that French merchants, those of the true faith, entrust their interests in the colony to dangerous heretics, who insidiously diffused their influence, and by their behavior, which was often unexceptionable, weakened the popular prejudice against their persons and professions. Lest these theological reasons should not carry sufficient weight, he drew the Minister's attention to the danger of revolution to which the presence of a large body of Protestants in the colony would expose the State.

If any heretics remained in the colony it was not for lack of warning from France, for the King in a letter to Denonville in 1685 congratulated himself on the number of conversions that had been made in France through the cogent arguments brought to bear after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; and urged his Lieutenant to use soldiers and severity, as well as the assistance of the Bishop, in persuading the few heretics in the colony to abandon their pernicious opinions. In the same dispatch he recommends the encouragement of the wool industry and tanning. The King as an administrator could pass from the affairs of this world to those of the next, as easily as, in private life, he could exchange the counsels of his confessors for the charms and endearments of his mistresses. Fortunately there were so

few Huguenots in Canada on whom to billet his troops that the King, however willing he might be, could not repeat the horrors of the *dragonnades*. Canada's history, therefore, has not been blotted, nor the character of the inhabitants debased, by such horrors as were committed in France in the name of religion by an arbitrary monarch, under the inspiration of a bigoted woman and a vindictive hierarchy. Canada suffered commercially and politically from the exclusion of the Huguenots, but her people and clergy did not receive into their veins the venom of that uncharitableness which is the bitter fruit of religious dissension. There was thus a homogeneity in the population, its habits and its institutions, which should have made the colony powerful and able to resist a foreign foe, if only it had been adequately supported by the mother country, or else freely allowed to work out its own salvation. But while no assistance was extended to it from France, it was forbidden to help itself; and the inevitable happened. Nevertheless New France is still New France, and her relations to the neglectful parent are well expressed by Th. Bentzon in "Notes de Voyage." "Canada," so says the author, "reminds me of a widow, who after a passionate, amorous marriage, finds in a second matrimonial experiment the safety, peace and material advantage which result from alliance with a man of means and sober habits. Her heart, nevertheless, remains in the keeping of her first love, who, despite his faults, worshipped instead of merely respecting and supporting her. She would not, it is true, exchange her present comfortable estate for those joyous days of youthful madness, still she sighs when she thinks of them, and even takes pleasure in bemoaning her past sufferings."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Struggle for the Fur Trade of Hudson Bay; the Quebec Hudson Bay Companies, and a Discussion on Colonial Policy.

Two names appear conspicuously in the annals of trade and exploration in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Médard de Chouart, Sieur de Grosseilliers, and Pierre d'Esprit, the Sieur Radisson, were more closely united by kindred tastes than even by family ties; and so highly were they esteemed for their energy and knowledge that, even after being suspected of treason, they were received back into favor by the Canadian authorities. Grosseilliers was married to Radisson's sister, but both were attracted to the Indians and their free, untrammelled life, and both had in a great measure thrown off, together with their prejudices, those sentiments of patriotism and honor, the absence of which leaves human nature poor indeed. Their intercourse with the Indians of the Upper Lakes had instructed them more or less accurately as to the geography of the land lying between the Lakes and the Mississippi, and between the Lakes and the Hudson Bay. If the early voyagers and missionaries learned so little of the more remote regions of the continent, it was owing to native suspicion and secretiveness, for the knowledge of the Indians is as wide as their wanderings, and their power of observation as strong as their memory. Where they could have given minute descriptions, they only dropped vague hints. Whether Grosseilliers and Radisson had actually reached James Bay from the Height of Land which divides the Lakes from that sheet of water, or whether they derived the information from the Indians who hunted there, they certainly ascertained that a rich field for traffic in furs existed in the country to the north, which the English claimed by right of discovery, but which they had not actually occupied. It is believed that they

proposed to the agent in Quebec of the old company, which was then moribund and about to receive its *coup de grace*, that the company should equip an expedition by water to retrieve its fortunes in this inexhaustible and productive region; but all the thanks they got was a fine for trading without a license. In disgust they carried their knowledge and enthusiasm first to Boston, where, through Grosseilliers' persuasion, Capt. Zachary Gillam became interested in the fur trade, and was induced to sail his ship to Hudson Bay. This attempt failed. After further disappointments in the American colonies the Huguenot adventurers so inspired the English commissioners, then in New England, with their own enthusiasm, that these officials urged them to accompany them to London. There, under the patronage of Prince Rupert, and with the pecuniary aid of the Prince, and other titled and untitled notables, two ships were fitted out and sailed in 1668 for the Bay. Only one, the "Nonesuch," owned by the same Capt. Zachary Gillam who had made the unsuccessful attempt to enter the Bay in 1664, reached the appointed destination. Its crew wintered at the mouth of Prince Rupert River, near the head of James Bay, and not over 150 miles from the nearest French settlements; built Fort Charles, and brought back their ship with so rich a cargo of furs that the foundation of the Hudson Bay Company, under a most liberal charter from Charles II., was the result. Prince Rupert, Radisson's and Grosselliers' patron, was the first Governor, and gave his name to one-half the North American continent, which till our own day was known as Prince Rupert's Land.

Rumors of this invasion by the English of a territory which the French claimed as their own, by virtue of its having been included in the sweeping concession given by Richelieu to the Company of the One Hundred Associates, having reached the Intendant, Talon, he committed to the Jesuit missionaries the task of watching the English. These he could, without reserve, rely upon to aid in frustrating the schemes of the heretics. To this commission we owe one of the most interesting narratives of the *Relations*—that describing Father Albanel's journey to Hudson Bay. Starting from Tadousac in August, 1671, with two French

and Indian guides, he passed the winter on Lake St. John. As soon as Spring unlocked the icebound rivers he proceeded, accompanied only by Indians, on his journey by way of Lake Mistassini to Hudson Bay, which he reached in the end of May, convincing himself of the presence of the English by seeing two of their deserted huts, and also a boat flying the English flag.

As usual, the Jesuit acted as a political agent, and at a great pow-wow held on the Height of Land urged the Indians to stop trading with the English in the north, using as an argument that they did not pray to God.* He begged them to turn their steps back to Lake St. John, where they would always find a black-robed priest ready to teach and to baptize them. Although Father Albanel claimed that he always found the savages very easily moved by descriptions of hell's horror and heaven's delight, he admits that the argument which appealed most forcibly to his savage hearers was the relief from Iroquois raids which they owed to the assistance of the French; for even in that distant region the Iroquois had spread terror. Dreary mementoes of the incursions of these exterminating savages were met with almost to the very shores of Hudson Bay; but since the campaigns of Tracy and Courcelle the range of their predatory operations had been curtailed.

Father Albanel's report confirmed the rumor of the presence of the English, and it was clearly seen that, if they were allowed to gain a footing on the Hudson Bay, Canada would be threatened from both north and south. Nevertheless the Hudson Bay Company was allowed for ten years longer to build and maintain trading posts—Fort Rupert, on the southeast end of James Bay; Moose Fort, on Hayes Island, at the mouth of Moose River; Fort Albany, on the Albany River, and a fort at the discharge of the Nelson River. The *Compagnie des Indes*, which had replaced the Company of the Hundred Associates, looked on apathetically, while this trading company was making its position good,

* Unparliamentary compliments were then paid with less reserve than at present. Charles II. took for the Crown an interest in the stock of the Hudson Bay Company. On presenting a dividend of 225 guineas on £300 of stock to William the Third, the directors apologized for its not being larger by explaining that they "have been the greatest sufferers of any company from those common enemies of all mankind, the French."

and preparing to defend itself, not only against French attack, but also against New England poaching and illicit trade. When at last France moved, it was at the instigation of an opposition trading company—the *Compagnie du Nord*, in which, as we have already said, Quebec was deeply interested. Colbert had urged Duchesneau in 1678 to take measures to oust the English from the Bay, but nothing was really done, except sending Joliet to report on their operations at Fort Albany. He brought back the same report of the successful trade in which they were engaged. It was not till 1681 that Grosseillier and Radisson, having obtained pardon for their treachery, were employed by the *Compagnie du Nord* to command two barks, the “St. Pierre” and the “St. Anne,” commissioned to that region. At first they did not venture to attack the strongest English forts, but seized the post of St. Thérèse, near which Fort Nelson was subsequently built. What then happened is not very clear. According to one account they found young Gillam, the son of Captain Zachary, and Governor Bridgar in charge of the post, and carried them captive in the Hudson Bay Company’s own ship to Canada. The other account is, that on their way back to Canada they fell in with a Boston ship, the “Garçon,” a trespasser on the Hudson Bay fur preserves, which they took to Quebec. Whether it was the Company’s ship or a poacher, La Barre, the Governor, for reasons that are not very clear, but to the great disgust of its captors and of the colonial stockholders of the French Company, released it and its owner, Benjamin Gillam. This was not the only unsatisfactory experience of the *Compagnie du Nord* with officials. The two ships returned laden with peltries, but the agent of the Farmer of the Revenue (“Société de la Ferme du Canada”), Mons. Chalon, interfered to prevent the Company transferring its furs at Isle Percé to another ship for transportation and sale in Holland and Spain. De la Chesnaye, who was the principal merchant of Quebec, and his partners of the *Compagnie du Nord*, protested. Though the Intendant, de Meulles, did not decide the question, he did order the ships to discharge their cargoes in the roadstead of Quebec. De la Chesnaye proposed a compromise, but the question was not settled

until the following year. Nor did this end the friction between the *Compagnie du Nord* and the Farmer of the Revenue. The feud existed at least until 1685; for though the Governor and Intendant both agreed that Hudson Bay was beyond the jurisdiction of the Farmer of the Revenue, the Farmer's agent claimed that the Hudson Bay traders were diverting peltries from the Montreal market, where tolls could be levied on them, to ports beyond their supervision, thereby depriving them of their dues.

More stirring events were then transpiring, and a Thirty Years' War for the possession of the Hudson Bay had begun. It would seem that the partners had separated: Radisson had sold himself to the English; his brother-in-law remained true to Canada; for Radisson in the ship "Happy Return" had surprised, in 1684, his nephew, Jean Baptiste Grosseilliers, then in the employ of the *Compagnie du Nord*, at a post near the mouth of Hayes River. Besides capturing his relative, he impounded 300,000 francs' worth of furs. The loss of the peltries was seriously felt by the *Compagnie du Nord*. The subscribers and directors in Canada of what is called "The Hudson Bay Company, established in Canada," held a meeting in Quebec on October 31st, 1684. After expressing their regret that they did not send an agent in 1683, to plead for the King's assistance in their efforts to destroy the English trade in the bay and conquer the lands around Fort Nelson, they resolved to send le Sieur de Conporte and le Sieur Pierre Soumande to France, to secure the King's permission to despatch a canoe force overland to surprise the English and frustrate the schemes of the faithless Radisson. The allowance made to the Sieur Conporte to cover expenses was to be 1,200 livres, but if he was obliged to spend more, he was authorized to do so. The Sieur Soumande, who was evidently going to France on his own business, was allowed his expenses from La Rochelle to Paris and his expenses while detained in Paris. The mission was successful, for the Company received their patent of incorporation in May, 1685, and they made reprisals on the other Hudson Bay Company with a vengeance.

Governor La Barre was about to retire, and one of his last acts was to authorize Juchereau Joliet, the brother of Louis, to

take official possession of the River Nemiskan as a challenge to the Hudson Bay Company. Radisson, guarding the English interests on the Bay, forbade the French to traffic with the Indians. The response was the Chevalier de Troyes' winter expedition by way of the Ottawa to Hudson Bay. This brilliant exploit was the forerunner of many others, in which the heroism of Iberville and other Canadian leaders stands forth conspicuously.

The Canadian Company was reorganized repeatedly, and there was perpetual confusion as to its title. It was called indifferently by various names. In the original document quoted above it is called the "*Compagnie de la baye d'Hudson, etablie en Canada.*" In another original document in my possession, dated 1697, the King, in a communication to the shareholders, addresses them as adventurers of the "*Compagnie du Canada.*" They reply as shareholders in the "*Compagnie du Nord.*" Dr. William Douglas, in his "Summary, Historical and Political, of the First Planting of the British Settlements in North America," published in Boston, 1760, summarizes the tedious war in the following brief paragraph:

"In the summer, anno 1686, in time of peace, the French from Canada became masters of all our Hudson's Bay factories, Port Nelson excepted. Anno 1693 the English recovered their factories, but the French got possession of them again soon after. Anno 1696 two English men-of-war retook them. In Queen Anne's war the French from Canada were again masters of these factories; but by the peace of Utrecht, anno 1713, the French quit-claimed them to the English so far south as 49 D. N. lat. Hitherto we have not heard of any attempt made upon them by the Canadians in this French war, which commenced in the Spring 1744."

And thus Hudson Bay remained ultimately in the possession of the British; but while the struggle for its trade was in progress, the control of the Hudson Bay Company was a perpetual subject of dispute between the French and the Canadian shareholders. The Rochellois in 1693 contended that they held a majority of the stock, and that the trade should be conducted direct with La Rochelle, and not through Quebec, where the merchants made 60 per cent profit on supplies, and where the Farmers of the State

levied heavy taxes. Quebec nevertheless continued to make its gains. The Company cannot then have been very prosperous, for it was unable either to share the expenses of Iberville's expedition in 1696, or profit by his capture of Fort Bourbon. Its influence, as well as its financial status, must have continued to decline, as we find that in 1697 it was obliged to refuse to incur expenses in defending Fort Bourbon, and in 1700 its exclusive privileges were revoked and bestowed upon the inhabitants of Quebec. The *Compagnie de Castor*, or *de la Colonie du Canada*, was then founded. The *Compagnie du Canada* was a more popular and purely Quebec company than its predecessor.* Its constitution was framed by Canadians. Every trader in Canada was obliged to take an interest in it; and, to secure a market for its furs the Farmer of the King's Revenue, Mons. Oudiette, was compelled to buy and sell in France all the peltries the Company might offer. Poor Oudiette had paid 350,000 livres for the privilege of being ruined, and the Company soon found that the Farmer of the Revenue could not pay for what he bought, unless there was a market for the wares. The Company, therefore, speedily followed Oudiette into bankruptcy. But a certain enterprising promoter, a Mons. Aubert, reorganized it. His panacea for securing a market for the Company's goods and preventing private trade was to impose a heavy penalty on any trader who should retain a beaver skin in his possession for over forty-eight hours, and refuse to accept as cash the Company's promise to pay.

Beaver skins were declared legal tender at 4 francs the pound; the promises of the Company were, of course, never redeemed. Promises and beaver skins became plentiful, but money scarce. In the primitive days barter satisfied the requirements of private life,

* In the appendix will be found a copy of the contract between the Company and fifteen *coureurs de bois* whom it was employing for Fort Bourbon. They were to be paid three hundred francs a year, but besides their wages they were to have the right to use caribou skins out of which to make shirts, overcoats, trousers, mittens and moccasins for their own use while in the North; but they were not to traffic in furs on pain of forfeiting their wages. They were to give a year's notice before leaving the Company's service. If they died their wages were to be paid to the date of their death to their heirs. If taken prisoners, however, their wages were to be paid only to the date of their captivity, and no ransom was to be paid for their release. Three only of the fifteen were able to sign their own names.

but when Canada engaged in foreign trade and international commerce, currency and credit were required, and she possessed neither. This need of some currency, other than beaver and moose skins, had been felt before this date, for the Intendant Meulles as far back as 1685 reported to the Finance Minister that the idea had occurred to him of putting into forcible circulation notes of various denominations, made by cutting playing cards into quarters, and stamping each with the fleur-de-lis and a crown. The cards were signed by the Governor, the Intendant and the Clerk of the Treasury of Quebec. They were convertible into bills of exchange. The next move was to issue a card in France payable to the bearer on demand; and the example was followed by a colonial issue, to be confined to the colony. As all were received by the Treasurer in Quebec in payment for bills of exchange on the imperial treasury, so long as the bills were paid, the cards were popular and circulated as currency in domestic trade. But when the French treasury was emptied by the costly wars and extravagant expenditures of the Court of Louis XIV., and the treasury bills came back to the colony protested, card money was, of course, discredited, and fell rapidly below its face value. Nevertheless, it continued to be issued, for, according to Parkman, in 1714 there were 2,000,000 francs of card money in the hands of the 20,000 inhabitants of Canada, while 1,000,000 of good money was ample for the needs of trade.*

Beaver skins continued to be the most valuable and profitable article of trade, but their value declined with their consumption. Fashion changed, and hats with lower crowns and smaller brims diminished the trade long before silk and rabbit fur actually displaced the beaver. Quebec exported in 1788 130,758 beaver skins and 200,358 bushels of wheat. But the trade in furs declined as the export of wheat increased. Mackenzie reported that in 1798 only 106,000 skins entered the market, and that 13,364 of the best

* As compensation for the refusal of civil rights and urgent restrictions of trade, the people had enjoyed the great advantage of freedom from direct taxation and the advantage of merely nominal duties on exports. Ten per cent was levied on wines and tobacco, and one-fourth of the beaver skins and one-tenth of the moose skins were collected as a direct tax on the mercantile classes.

of these found their way to the United States. The Hudson Bay Company's returns in 1891 account for only 460 beaver.*

The beaver trade of France was disadvantageously affected by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Many of the Huguenots, who were hat makers, carried their skill to other lands, especially England, which drew its supply of beaver skins partly from the Iroquois through the Hudson, and partly from Canadian traders, who smuggled their goods across the New York and New England frontiers. Lahontan tells in his own witty way how the trade was conducted in his time, and how Mons. Perrot, the Governor, though receiving a salary of only 1,000 écus a year, managed in a very few years, through an illicit use, presumably, of his official influence, to make a fortune of 60,000 écus out of furs. As a consequence of restriction French trade was so heavily handicapped, as Charlevoix tells us, that after de Troyes' successful raid on the English post in the Hudson Bay, the two governments of England and France agreed that Fort Nelson should be a neutral trading post—a scheme which Denonville very sensibly opposed, mainly on the ground that, as the English merchants always paid more for furs than the French, they would monopolize the trade.†

Dismal as had been the failure of the colonization companies, France was not yet convinced of the futility of advancing coloni-

* Wolley in his *Two Years' Journal in New York*, published in 1701, gives as the price of beaver skins 10s. 3d. a pound.

† Alexander Henry, in his *Travels and Adventures*, says: "Under the French Government of Canada the fur trader of Canada was subjected to a variety of regulations, established and enforced by royal authority, and in 1765, the period at which I began to prosecute it anew, some remains of the ancient system were still preserved. No person could go into the countries lying northwest of Detroit unless furnished with a license, and the exclusive trade of a particular district was capable of being enjoyed in virtue of a grant from military commanders. The exclusive trade of Lake Superior was given to myself by the commandant of Fort Michillimackinac, and to prosecute it I purchased goods which I found at his post at twelve months' credit. My stock was the freight of four canoes, and I took it at the price of 10,000 pounds weight of good and merchantable beaver. It is in beaver that accounts are kept at Michillimackinac, but in default of this article, other furs and skins are acceptable in payment, being first reduced into their value in beaver. Beaver was at this time at the price of 2 shillings 6 pence per pound, Michillimackinac currency; other skins at 6 shillings each; martin at 1 shilling 6 pence, and others in proportion. To carry the goods to my wintering place on Lake Superior I engaged twelve men at 250 livres of the same currency each, that is, 100 pounds weight of beaver skins. For provisions I purchased 50 barrels of maize at 10 pounds of beaver per barrel."

zation through the machinery of commercial monopolies. She tried it again with like ill success in the Mississippi Company of 1717.

Strange to say, after a long period of vicissitudes, the system has been revived in our own day by all the great and some of the smaller powers of Europe, with consequences which bear, under widely different conditions, some resemblance to the complications which arose in New France. Not a few of the forays on the borders of New France and New England would no more have been conceived and carried out by consent of the central government, than the Jameson Raid would have been planned and committed by Great Britain, had the territory north of the Transvaal been a crown colony instead of a chartered one.*

In comparing the policies pursued by the parent States, France and England, towards their respective colonies in North America, the virtue of greater consistency at least must be allowed to France. If France lost her colonies by the fortune of war, England lost her's in a manner less creditable to her statesmanship—by revolt.

From first to last, in the creation and management of the English colonies, the people took the initiative; the home government did little else than introduce the element of confusion. Throughout the whole colonial period we can recognize suspicion between the mother country and her colonies, and the vacillating policy of the former. We see charters granted and repealed; proprietary titles conferred and then cancelled and recreated. On the part of the colonists there was selfish reluctance to co-operate for mutual defence and refusal to allow the mother country even to introduce unity into the military system. On the other hand, Parliament passed unjust navigation laws intended to benefit England's interests at the expense of her dependencies—laws which encouraged smuggling and piracy and every form of illicit

* A commercial company may be an apt colonizer when the article of commerce it exploits can only be produced by encouraging colonization; but in Canada furs were substantially the only article of export, and the wild animals yielding them had been exterminated in proportion as colonization had progressed. The development of Manitoba and the Great Northwest as an agricultural region was with reason retarded by the Hudson Bay and the Northwest Companies, as is proved by the rapidity with which the buffalo and fur-bearing animals of the Plains and of the Rocky Mountains have disappeared before the advance of agriculture and settlement.

trade in colonial ports, and provided no machinery for their own enforcement, or penalties for their violation. England's navigation laws, in fact, operated rather as irritants than as measures of oppression to the colonies. At the base of England's colonial policy was the honest intention to form self-governing communities, which would carry with them across the seas English laws and customs, as opposed to Spanish officialism and French absolutism.* As time advanced and complications multiplied, the necessity became apparent of some organic tie which would cause the units to coalesce for mutual defence against the foreign foe, and harmonize internal interests and differences. England thought that her Parliament, which had been the safeguard of English liberty, should be trusted by Englishmen everywhere to legislate on matters affecting the common good and common safety. The English Kings, with less reason, thought that as representing the nation, they might at times exert their authority in matters of colonial administration. But the colonists would submit neither to Parliament nor to King. Schemes of federation such as those proposed by Penn, and later by Franklin, met with the hearty approval neither of England nor of her dependencies. The danger was not great enough to induce the colonists to forget their hereditary jealousies, and abandon their selfish and narrow views; and England looked askance at any scheme for a Colonial Parliament, lest sooner or later such a body should arrogate functions belonging to the Imperial Parliament alone. The opposition at present against an Irish Parliament is doubtless inspired by a similar apprehension.†

* The charter of the Hudson Bay Company describes the inhospitable lands ceded to that company in free and common socage as one of the Plantations or Colonies in America.

† Pownall, in his *Colonial Administration*, while recognizing the good cause for growing discontent among the American colonists, and advocating a vague scheme of imperial federation, warns Great Britain against the danger of furthering any movement looking towards consolidation of the colonies themselves; while now the first step towards imperial safety is recognized to be the consolidation of the various colonial groups as a step towards their incorporation into an imperial federation, whose constitution shall unite the divergent fiscal and economical interests of the different parts of the British Empire, and solve the ever recurring problem of how to impose an imperial tax for imperial purposes, without violating the principle that the taxpayer alone can tax himself. This is a principle, strange to say, departed from only in the Territories of the United States, where delegates may sit in the Federal Legislature, but not vote, and where American citizens may not cast a vote for President.

French statesmen must have seen, in the English haphazard colonial policy, and in the jealousy prevailing in her colonial family and their suspicion of the parent State, the only safety of their North American dependencies. For a United Britain would, with the aid of the Iroquois, or even without their aid, have rendered the valley of the St. Lawrence untenable by France. But if the same statesmen flattered themselves that a merely consistent policy necessarily gave strength to the system to which it was applied, events were soon to arise of a nature to disabuse them.

One respect in which the French colonial system differed essentially from the English was in giving the Church almost co-ordinate powers with the State. The position assigned to the Superior of the Jesuits in the preliminary council of 1647, and to the Bishop or his coadjutor, in the Supreme Council of 1663; the charter granted to a professedly religious community like that of Ville Marie, carrying the right of nominating its own governor; and the permission accorded to a religious body like the Sulpicians, to exercise seignorial control, with *haute, moyenne* and *basse justice*, over what shortly became the most important defensive position, from a military point of view, on the St. Lawrence, are anomalies such as cannot be laid at the door of English policy. Had the English government attempted to force a system of this nature on English colonists, the attempt would not have succeeded. Had the French system been obnoxious to the majority of the French colonists, and opposed to their national habits of thought, it would have been resisted. There was no resistance; and, as a consequence, a colonial system of dual government by Church and State was called into existence, with far-reaching results.

Looking backward, we can appreciate better than could his contemporaries the full scope at once of Frontenac's genius and of his colonial policy. His plan of throwing out a chain of posts between the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, of which Cataragui was to be the first link, was admirable. The adventurous temper of many of the colonists who had emigrated to Canada was a splendid qualification for men who were to defend a girdle of forts, make each a center of settlement, and thus win a wilderness to civilization and a continent to France. The mother

country could well have followed the example of England, and spared many of her more turbulent children to create a New France across the sea. Early in the 18th century France was beginning to seethe with the discontent which was to culminate in the Revolution. Had her rulers looked across the channel, and duly estimated the quantity of dangerous explosive material in England for which America was affording an outlet, they would have encouraged emigration, rather than discouraged it by refusing, as they did, political liberty and freedom of thought and of creed to the colonists. A slight relaxation of political and ecclesiastical thralldom would have induced much larger numbers of the more restless and energetic of the French population to migrate than actually found their way to the St. Lawrence. Once free, and inspired by the atmosphere of the American forest, prairie, lake and river, they would have become an irresistible horde of *coureurs de bois*, who would have peopled the whole West while the English were slowly preparing to consolidate themselves into a political confederation east of the Alleghenies. As it was, Frontenac's plans not only failed, but they weakened the defensive power of the colony by scattering instead of concentrating its feeble forces. A copious stream of immigration was necessary to their consummation, and that Canada never enjoyed under the French régime.

When we consider the complete failure, from the point of view of colonization, of the chartered companies of the seventeenth century, we may well feel surprised at the revival by England of this method of national expansion in the latter half of the nineteenth. All the chartered companies of to-day are, however, understood to be merely forerunners of Government, and speedily resign their charters for a pecuniary consideration, after giving the powers creating them a title to the district exploited. The British North Borneo Company, founded in 1881, gave place to a protectorate in 1888. The Royal Niger Company of 1886 sold its rights and territory to the British Government for £865,000. The Imperial British East Africa Company, created in 1885, disposed of its possessions to the British Government in 1894 for £250,000. Cecil Rhodes' famous British South Africa Company is still in

existence, but its powers as a governing body have been very much crippled since the Jameson raid and the war against Lobengula. The German East Africa Company resigned its governing functions in 1890, and the German New Guinea Company followed its example in 1899. The British African Commercial Companies alone have undoubtedly added to the Empire about 2,000,000 square miles of territory, whose value is by some belittled, even as the worth of Canada was depreciated by the statesmen of France, as it also was by those of England when they resigned Kirke's conquest without a murmur. The charters of the modern companies differ in many material respects from those of the seventeenth century, but they resemble strangely, in their essential features, those of France in the seventeenth century, in so far as they are endowed with political functions while organized as money-making corporations.

APPENDIX.

I.

PROCÈS VERBAL OF A CONFERENCE HELD IN QUEBEC ON OCTOBER 31, 1684, AT WHICH CERTAIN DELEGATES WERE APPOINTED TO LAY BEFORE THE KING THE NEEDS OF THE COMPAGNIE DE LA BAYE D'HUDSON, ESTABLIE EN CANADA, AND ASK HIS ASSISTANCE AGAINST THE ENGLISH WHO HAVE ESTABLISHED A POST AT TWO HUNDRED LEAGUES FROM FORT NELSON.

Nous Soubz signés Dirrecteurs et Interesés En la Compagnie de la baye D'HUDSON Establié En Canada Ce soubz le bon plaisir de Sa Majesté et de lagrément de Nos Seigneurs le General, et Intendant Estans Assemblés En la Maison de Monsieur De Comporté l'un des dits Interessez, pour Conferer sur les Expediens que Nous Jugerions les plus Convenables et plus Advantageux pour faire reussir l'entreprise desia Commancée pour la d. baye D'HUDSON, et comme il a Esté remarqué par la d. Compagnie que faute D'avoir Envoyé en France L'année dernière quelque personne dicelle Capables et Intelligente pour supplier Sa Majesté de vouloir L'honorer de Sa protection pour la d. Enterprize Contre les Efforts des Anglois qui la menacent de ly traverser et Nuyre autant qu'ils pourront au succeds quelle pretend y faire par son Commerce et obtenir de Sa d. Majesté La grâce d'avoir en propriété les terres de la d. baye DHUDSON au port Nelson en telle quantité Et droits quelle Jugera, et, d'autant que les dits Interesés assemblés apres une Mure deliberation ont Jugé a propos ayant Eu La permission de Nos dits Seigneurs Le General et Intendant d'envoyer deux personnes de la d^e Compagnie cette année en France pour obtenir de Sa Majesté sy faire se peut la propriété du d. port de Nelson en la d. baye d'HUDSON, et qu'il soit permis aux dits Interesés d'y Envoyer les Navires ou barques qu'ils Jugeront pour faire valloir leur d. Commerce et Mesure a Cause des grands risques qu'il y a d'y Envoyer par Mer soit par les glaces soit par les difficultés qui se Rencontrent pour y arriver que pour les an-

glois qui soubz prétexte d'un Establissement quils y ont depuis quelque années a deux cents Lieux de celluy de la d. Compagnie, prétendent nous en deffandre L'accès et Nous Menassent duzer Contre Nous, les Navires ou barques, et Contre les gens qui les Monteront toutes sortes dactes d'hostilité affin de la suplanter du d. Poste dhudson et la Contraindre de ny plus revenir par les perthes quils luy causeront et Ce quelle a lieu de Craindre particulièrement Cette année par la Mauvaise Volonté du Sieur Ratisson qui sest alié Contre lengagement quil avoit avec Elle, avec les dits anglois pour la Ruiner et détruire, pour quoy les d. deux personnes qui seront Choisis par elle pour aller En france y représenteront quil seroit Necessaire d'avoir la liberté D'envoyer Un Certain Nombre de Canots et Canoteurs avec des Vivres et Merchandizes pour se Randre en La d. Baye Dhudson par les Rivieres qui y Communiquent et Conduize dans la profondeur des terres pour sy Randre En seureté et pour En avoir les advis quil Convendra pour soustenir le d. Establissement et au Cas que les dits anglois Eussent Commencée de faire rupture de la paix qui est Entre Nous et Eux quil soit permis a la d. Compagnie, d'avoir droit de représailles En supliant sa d. Majesté de luy ayder et Maintenir La d. Compagnie, laquelle assemblée a Jetté les yeux et fait choix de la personne du d. Sieur de Comporté, et de Celle du Sieur Pierre Soumande de lorme Interessés, et les a priés de vouloir agréer Le Choix quelle a fait deux pour passer en france et y Représenter toutes Choses pour le bien et avantage de la d. Compagnie outre ce qui est dit cy dessus et le tout Sous le bon plaisir de Sa Majesté et aprobaton de Nos dits Seigneurs le General et Intendant, Ce que les dits Sieurs de Comporté et de lorme ont accepté volontiers dans le dessein de lobliger et luy procurer par leurs soins leur Capacité et Crédit tout ce quelle peut attendre d'eux, et pour Lentreprize et reussite du d. Voyage La d. Compagnie a Résolu de fournir au d. Sieur de Comporté La somme de douze Cents Livres argent de france pour subvenir aux fraix et despance du d. voyage et au Cas quil Juge a propos de faire quelque depance quelle ne Peut prévoir elle luy Donne pouvoir de faire les Emprunts dont Il aura

besoing se réfferant pour Cet Effait a sa prudence et probité, et de plus promet payer La despance que le d. Sieur Saumonde (de lorme) fera pour se randre de la Rochelle a Paris, et sejour au d. Lieu, dont et de ce que dessus Les dits Interessés ont Convenu, et donneront aux dits Sieurs une procuration Conformément a la deliberation Cy dessus et tels mémoires quils Jugeront pour leur servir avec leur lumieres et Experience dinstruction, fait A Quebec Le 31^e octob. 1684:

Et après que les dits Interesses ont requis le Sieur Gitton fils qui a assisté a la desliberation De lassemblée de la signer il En a fait refus et a desclaré quil Nestoit point de la d^e Societté Le Sieur Chanjon luy ayant fait Entrer Contre Son Consentement, pour quoy, la d. Compagnie a deslibéré de ne plus Regarder Le d. Sieur gitton Comme associé dont sera dressé acte en forme au premier Tour avec protestation de tous depands dommages et Interets Contre le d. Sieur gitton, fait au d. quebec Les Jours et an susdits.

De Comporté
Charles Aubert de la Chenaye
Pachot
Chanjon
Jean lepicart
Le Ber
Catignon
P. Soumande Delorme
f. haleur
Migeon DeBranssat
Bouthier

Aujourdhuy à la Requisition de Monsieur Maistre Philippe Gauthier Escuyer Sieur de Comporté Conseiller du Roy prevost de nos Seigneurs Les Maresaux de france En ce pays demeurant en son hostel En cette ville rue St Pierre, Des Sieurs Charles Aubert de la Chenaye, Jacques leber françois Vienné Pachot, françois haleur Guillaume Chanjon, Charles Catignon Jean Baptiste Migeon de Bransart, Pierre Soumande De Lorme Guillaume Bouthier Et Jean Le Picart Marshands Et habitans de cette Ville

Et de Mont royal directeurs Et Interessez en la Compagnie de la baye dhudson en Canada pays de la nouvelle france, Nous Gilles Rageot Notaire Royal au d. Quebeq En la pⁿ^{ce} des tesmoins cy apres nommez nous sommes transportez, au domicile du Sieur Jean Gitton fils marshand y demeurant rüe soubs le fort, sur le quay, ou estant parlant a sa personne luy avons montré, Exhibé Et faict lecture de la deliberaón cy devant, Ce faisant nous dit notaire avons sommé Et Interpellé par ces pntes le d. Sr. Gitton de garnir Et fournir pⁿtement ce quil doibt pour sa part Et portion au sol la livre, pour les frais quil a esté trouvé a propos de faire pour le bien proffit, utilité et conservation de la d. Compagnie faute de quoy, Quelle persiste allencontre de luy de tous despens dommages Et Interets, Et a le d. Sieur Gitton fait response q.¹ est prest dexecuter Et suivre le traité q.¹ a fait avec la ditte Compagnie le trentiesme octobre mil six cent quatre vingtrois, Et comme La ditte Compagnie na point suivy le dit traité ayant fait des avances de plus de soixante mil livres audela du montant du d. traité. Et y ayant receu plusieurs nouveaux Interessez, Le d. Sieur Gitton se desiste de la ditte Compagnie dans laquelle Il ne veult avoir Interest, attendu que Le dit traité quil a signé na esté suivy, demandant aux Interessez de la ditte Compagnie le remboursement et advance q.¹ a dans la d. Compagnie, compris ce qui luy est deub des Sieurs De Saurel Et Bruno Interressez dans la d. Compagnie, a faulte de quoy, Il a proteste de tous ses despens dommages Et Interests, fait Et passé au dit Quebecq En la Chambre du d. Sieur Gitton Le Neufiesme Jour de Novembre mil six cent quatre vingt quatre Espresence de Antoine Pacault et de Denis Roberge, tesmoins qui ont avec le d. Sieur Gitton et notaire signé. Dont acte Et dont du tout a esté laissé Coppie au d. Gitton

J: Gitton pour mon pere.
 Roberge
 Pascaud
 Rageot

II.

EXTRACT FROM THE LETTER OF THE KING, DATED 1697, ADVISING THE SHAREHOLDERS OF THE COMPAGNIE DU NORD THAT AN EXPEDITION IS BEING FITTED OUT TO ATTACK FORT BOURBON, AND OFFERING IT WHEN TAKEN, TO THE COMPANY, UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS: AND THE REPLY OF THE COMPANY, DECLINING THE OFFER ON ACCOUNT OF THE HEAVY LOSSES IT HAS SUSTAINED.

Extraict de La Lettre du Roy de 1697.

Elle a bien voulu faire encor La depence dun armement de cinq de ses vaisseaux pour aller attaquer et prendre sur les anglois Le fort de Bourbon de La baye du Nord, afin de Leur oster Le Commerce du Castor, dont La pcession de ce fort, a cauze de la proximité des nations Superieures qui fournissent Le meilleur, Leur donne la preference a Lexclusion des françois et au prejudice de la Compagnie de Canada Etablie pour Le Commerce de cette baye, Laquelle Sa Majesté y veust bien retablir, et Luy faire remettre Le d. fort en Lestat quil se sera trouvé avec Les armes et munitions en remboursant Les depenses de Lentretien et de La Subsistance de la garnison depuis La prise jusques au temps q^{ls} sen remettront en possession, a quoy Les d^s Sieurs de frontenac et de Champigny tiendront Les Interressez en la d^eCompagnie disposez et en retireront la declaration avec Leur Soumission quils enverront par Le retour des premiers Vaisseaux, afin quelle puisse estre asseurée quils y feront Les envoys necess^{res} pour Lannée prochaine a la decharge de Sa Majesté ou quelle y puisse pourvoir autrement sur Leur refus.

Aujourdhuy Treziesme Jour d'octobre mil six cent quatre vingt dix sept avant midy pardevant Le notaire Royal en la prevoité de québec soûs signé y residant et témoins cy Bas nommez Sont Comparus Monsieur *DeVilleray* premier Conseiller au Conseil Souverain de Ce pays au nom et Comme faisant pour Messieurs Doudiettes Interressez En la Compagnie du Nord pour La Somme de soixante treize mil cent quatre vingt treize Livres dix sept Sols; *Maistre Pierre Debenac*

Controlleur general des fermes du Roy en Ce pays faisant pour Le Sieur *Demonic* Interressé En la d. Compagnie pour La Somme de deux mil quatre cens dix neuf Livres; Pour Le Sieur *Marnot* marchand de paris Interressé pour La Somme de Cinq mil Livres; et pour Le sieur *françois Duprat* marchand de la Rochelle Interressé pour la Somme de quatre mil huit cens soixante douze livres dix huit sols; Monsieur *Aubert De la Chenaye* Conseiller au d. conseil souverain Interressé pour Luy pour La Somme de vingt deux mil deux cens vingt Six Livres unze sols; et faisant Pour Monsieur *Patu* Interressé pour la Somme de Cinq mil quatre Cens Soixante unze Livres, Le Sieur *françois haleur* marchand Bourgeois de Cette ville Interressé pour La Somme de dix sept mil Cinq Cens vingt une Livres; Le Sieur *françois Pachot* aussy marchand et Bourgeois de cette ditte ville Interressé pour luy pour la Somme de dix mil trois Cens Soixante treze Livres dix Sols six deniers Et faisant pour *La Damoizelle* Neuve et heritiers De Deffunt Maistre *Jean Baptiste Migeon* Sieur Debransat vivant advocat au parlement demeurante a montreal Interressés pour La somme de Cinq mil quatre Cens Cinquante neuf Livres; — Le Sieur *Jean Le Picart* aussy marchand de Cette ditte Ville Interressé pour la Somme de six mil quarante neuf Livres dix huit sols; Le Sieur *Charles Macart* aussy marchand de Cette ditte ville Interressé pour La Somme de Cinq mil trois cens trante neuf Livres; Damoizelle *Catherine Nolan* Espouse et procuratrice du Sieur *Mathieu Delino* aussy marchand de cette ditte ville absant Interressé pour La Somme de deux mil quatre cens soixante huit Livres dix sols; Et Le Sieur *Jean Gobin* aussy marchand de cette ville Interressée pour La Somme de dix sept cens quatre vingt Douze Livres;

Lesquels Dits Sieurs cy dessus denommés Esnomms quils agissent ont dit et desclaré qu'ayant En Communication D'un article de la Depesche Envoyée par *Sa Majesté* a Monseigneur Le Conte de Frontenac Son gouverneur et Lieutenant general En Ce pays de Canada Et à Monseigneur De Champigny Intendant de Ce dit pays auxquels Sa Majesté a Bien voulu ordonner de Communiquer Le d. article aux dits Sieurs Interressez En la Com-

pagnie Du nord pour qu'ils ayent a Délibérer Entr'eux sy ou non Ils veuillent accepter L'offre que Sa Majesté a La Bonté de Leur faire de Leur Remettre Le Fort Bourbon De la Baye du Nord avec Les armes et munitions apres qu'il aura esté Repris sur les anglois par Les Cinq vaisseaux quelle a Envoyé pour Cette Expedition pour par Les dits Sieurs Interressez y Retablir Le Commerce et Ly Continuer en Rambourçant a *Sa Majesté* Les Dépenses De L'entretien et de la subsistance de la garnison Depuis la prise Du d. Fort Jusques au têmes que les d. Sieurs Interressez en la d. Compagnie S'en Remetteront En possession; Et apres en avoir Delibéré par assemblée faite Entr'eux Le d. Sieur de Villeray faisant pour Les d. Srs. Doudiettes, Le d. Sr. Debenac faisant pour Les d. Srs. Demonie, Marnot, et Duprat, et Le dit Sieur delashenaye pour Le dit Sieur pattue Ont dit qu'a Leurégard Ils ne peuvent répondre aux propositions que Sa Majesté fait aux Interressez En La d. Compagnie qui sont habitués et Etablis en Ce pays attendu que Les dits Sieurs cy dessus Denommés sont Demeurans en France et qu'ils n'ont aucun ordre de leur part pour y répondre; mais qu'ils Leur Donneront avis de la d. proposition et offre de Sa Majesté pour qu'ils ayent a y repondre; Et a Légard Des dits Sieurs de la Chenaye en son nom haeur, pachot tant pour luy en son nom que faisant pour la d. damoizelle Veuve et heritiers Migeon; picart, macart, delino; Et Gobin tous demeurans en ce d. pays Ils ont d'une Commune voye Reconneu et advoüé qu'ils ne sçauroient qu'avec Toute les humblés soumissions que de veritables sujets doivent a Leur Roy Remercier Sa Majesté De la Bonté et de la Charité quelle a de vouloir procurer Les moyens de Retablir La d. Compagnie Du nord par les offres avantageux quelle Luy fait mais que les grosses avances pour Lesquelles chascun deux y est Interressé sans aucune esperance de Les Retirer sy Sa Majesté n'a La Charité de Continuer ses bontés pour La d. Compagnie Leur oste Les moyens de sépuiser pour faire de nouvelles avances pour Le Retablissement et maintien de la d. Compagnie Du nord surtout pendant que La guerre Durera Estant Impossible que la d. Compagnie puisse soutenir et faire Les Dépense nécessaire pour garder Le d. fort bourbon par Elle mesme sans le

secours de Sa Majesté; qu'ainsy sy Sa Majesté veust bien Continuer ses Bontés a Légard de la d. Compagnie Elle aura La Charité de conserver et maintenir Ce poste pendant le tems De La Guerre et apres la guerre finie de Le Remettre Entre Les mains de la d. Compagnie quy dans Ce tems La fera toutes les nouvelles avances possible pour Le maintenir et Garder; ou que sy Il se forme une nouvelle Compagnie en france qui veulle Entreprendre De Garder le dit poste et Le maintenir pendant que la Guerre Durera Les d. Srs. susnommés marchands de ce pays de Canada offrent de s'y Interresser pour une huitiesme partye sy Sa Majesté veust bien Leur accorder, Desquelles Declarations Les d. Sieurs susnommez Chacun a leur égard ont requis Le présent acte qui a esté fait pour Leur servir en Tems et Lieu ce que de raison fait au d. quebec Le jour et an susd. es presences des Sieurs guillaume Gaillard marshand et de françois Aubert Commis Temoins demeurants au d. quebec qui ont avec Les d. Sieurs Susnommez et no^{re} signé;

Rouer DeVilleray
Charles Aubert de la chenaye
Gobin
f. haleur
Pachot
Benac
Catherine nolan
Macart
Lepicart
G. Gaillard
Aubert
Chambalon

III.

CONTRACT BETWEEN THE DIRECTORS OF THE COMPAGNIE DE LA COLONIE AND FOURTEEN MEN, WHO UNDERTAKE TO SERVE THE COMPANY AT FORT BOURBON.

Pardevant Le notaire Royal en la prevosté de quebec sous signez Residant et témoins cy-bas nommez furent presens Joseph des hostels dit lapointe, antoine forestier, françois Perthuis, Jean Baptiste Cuillerier, Jean cotton dit fleur despée, et Louis Viger, tous demeurans a Montreal; françois L'ancougné, Jean Sezart dit Gardelet, et Joseph favreau habitans de boucherville, noel lamy; claudé duplex Philbert Mazeau, et Jean Boisseau aussy habitans de contre-cœur, et René Cosset de batiscan, et Louis hot de charlesbourg, de present en cette ville de quebec, Lesquels de leur bon gré se sont volontairement Engagez a Messieurs Lec directeurs Generaux de la Compagnie de la Colonie de ce pays sous signez a ce presens et acceptans quy les ont pris et Retenu pour le Service de la d. Compagnie a Commencer de ce jour et Continuer Jusques a leur Retour en cette ville ou a leur arrivée en france a l'égard de ceux quy y voudront volontairement passer au lieu de s'en revenir en ce pays pour quitter le service de la d. Compagnie et non à l'égard de ceux quy pourront estre commendez pour passer en france pour le Service de la d. Compagnie, dont les Gages Coureront Egallement Comme a ceux quy Resteront au Nord jusques a leur arrivée en ce d. pays, Pour par eux s'embarquer Incessamment sur le navire de la d. Compagnie pour aller Servir Icelle au fort bourbon en la baye du nord soûs les ordres de la dite Compagnie et sous les Commendement de Monsieur delisle de tilly commandant au d. Lieu pour la 'd. Compagnie, et a ceux quy auront droit de Leur Commander sous luy et en son absance auxquels Ils promettent d'obéir en tous les travaux sans exception d'aucuns quilz leurs commanderont pour le Service de la d. Compagnie, et de leur obéir avec toute la fidelité Requise, ces engagements ainsy faits a la charge par La d. Compagnie de les Nourrir; Et outre Ce de leur payerachacun d'eux Leurs gages et Salaires a Raison de trois Cens

livres par au Monnoye de ce pays; a Condition qu'outre leurs dits Gages Il leur sera permis a chacun d'employer des peau de Caribou provenant de leur chasse a se faire des chemizes, capots, Cullottes, Mitasses, et Souliers Sauvages pour leur Service pour durant tout le tems qu'ils seront au dit lieu du nord, Et qu'ils ne pourront faire aucun trafic, Commerce, Ny negoce pour leur proffit particulier directement Ny Indirectement a peine de pertes de leurs Gages; quil sera permis a chacun deux de quitter le Service de la d. Compagnye pour s'en Revenir en ce pays en en avertissant le d: Sieur delisle ou ceux quy seront a Sa Place Un an auparavant quils s'en puissent Revenir pour que Le d: Sieur delisle ou autres Commendant en puisse donner avis a la direction pour que la direction ayt le tems d'y en Envoyer d'autres a la place de ceux quy s'en voudront Revenir l'année suivante; qu'a L'égard de ceux des dits engagés quy descedderont soit pendant laler, leur sejour, ou retour Leurs Gages seront payés a leurs heritiers depuis le d. jour de leur départ jusques au jour de leur deceds; Et a legard de ceux quy seront pris prisonniers par les Ennemis de lestat leurs Gages leurs seront payez jusques au jour de leur prise seulement, sans que la Compagnie soit en aucune Maniere obligée n'y tenue de payer aucune rançon pour le rachapt et liberté de leur personnes, soûs aucuns pretextes que ce puisse estre, Car ainsy a este Reglé, entre les dits Engagez susnommez et mes dits Sieurs les directeurs generaux, sous lobligation &c Renonçant &c Fait Et passé au d' Quebec en lestude du d. notaire a légard; des dits Engagés avant midy Et a l'égard de mes d' S^{rs} les directeurs generaux en leur Bureau le Vingt Septiesme jour de juin Mil Sept cens quatre en presence des S^{rs} françois rageot et Pierre huguet praticiens témoins quy ont avec mes d. S^{rs} les directeurs generaux, Les dits forestier, Perthuis, Cuillerier et Boisseau et notaire signé; les autres susnommez ayant déclaré ne sçavoir signer de ce enquis

Cuillerier

F. perthuy

Boisseaux

R. L. Chartier de Lotbinière

Ruette Dauteüil

Delins

Pinaut

Rageot

Perthuis

P. huguet

Chambalon

IV.

CANADIAN CENSUS.

The slow growth of the Colony is graphically expressed by the following summary of successive censuses taken from the Census of Canada, 1870-71:

- 1608 Quebec founded — 28 settlers wintered there, including Champlain. (*Champlain, Edition Laverdière*, tome III, page 173.)
- 1620 Population of Quebec: 60 persons. (*Champlain, Edition Laverdière*, tome VI, page 8.)
- 1628 Population of New France, 76, who wintered, including 20 French and the Missionary returning from the Hurons. (*Champlain, Edition Laverdière*, tome VI, pages 205 and 231.)
- 1629 After the taking of Quebec, about 117 persons wintered, 90 of these being English belonging to Kertk's Expedition. (*Champlain, Edition Laverdière*, tome VI, page 320.) (*Relations and Parish Registers of the time.*)
- 1641 The sedentary population of New France was still only 240. (*Dollier, Edition 1868*, page 31. *Relation de 1642*, page 36.)
- 1653 Population of New France about 2,000. (*Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, — Lettres Historiques, XLVIII.*)
- 1663 Population of New France 2,500, of whom 800 were in Quebec. (*Leclercq, Edition 1691*, vol. II, pages 4 and 66.) (*Boucher, Edition Canadienne*, page 61.)
- 1665 Population *de jure* of New France: 3,215. ("Census of Canada.")
- 1667 Population of New France: 3,918. ("Census of Canada.")
- 1668 Population of New France: 6,282. (*Archives de Paris.*)
- 1673 Population of New France: 6,705. (*Archives de Paris.*)
- 1675 Population of New France: 7,832. (*Archives de Paris.*)
- 1676 Population of New France: 8,415. (*Archives de Paris.*)
- 1679 Population of New France: 9,400. ("Census of Canada.")

- 1680 Population of New France: 9,719; besides 960 Indians collected in villages. (*Archives de Paris.*)
- 1681 Population of New France: 9,677. ("Census of Canada.")
- 1683 Population of New France: 10,251. (*Archives de Paris.*)
- 1685 Population of New France: 12,263; including 1,538 of the Indian population collected in villages. ("Census of Canada.")
- 1686 Population of New France: 12,373. (*Archives de Paris.*)
- 1688 Population of New France: 11,562. ("Census of Canada.")
- 1692 Population of New France: 12,431. ("Census of Canada.")
- 1695 Population of New France: 13,639. ("Census of Canada.")
- 1698 Population of New France: 15,355. ("Census of Canada.")

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